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WRITTEN MEDIA IN WEST GERMANY

A Study of Public Reactions and Extent of Penetration

Report No. 214
Series No. 7
August 15, 1955

RESEARCH STAFF
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
AMERICAN EMBASSY

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

This report describes and assesses the news media in West Germany, particularly the German press today. The first part of the present study will define the size and structure of the German newspaper audience, its composition and its exposure to the some 1,000 newspapers in West Germany. It will also be concerned with the German people's evaluation of their present-day press. The second part of this study will be devoted to an appraisal of some of the uses made of their news media, such as periodicals, books, and pamphlets. In the third part of the report, an overall comparative evaluation of the different news media is presented.

The survey was conducted between May 18th and June 3rd 1955. The findings are based upon a 1,251 case probability sample representative of the West German adult population 18 years of age and over.

As usual, interviewing was conducted under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Research Staff.

H E A D L I N E S U M M A R Y

One of the main findings of the present study is the fact that no essential changes within the overall written media situation since 1952 were revealed. While in West Germany the participation in some written media activities - such as newspaper and pamphlet reading - has somewhat increased over the past 3 years, basic attitudes and reading habits remain the same.

I. General Appraisal of Present-Day Press

A. NEWSPAPER READERSHIP AND PREFERENCES

Section 1: The German Newspaper Audience

GREAT MAJORITY OF GERMANS READ PAPERS DAILY ... Only one in seven adults reads the press less than once a week or not at all. Trend figures indicate a slight increase in frequency of newspaper reading since today almost 10% more people read the papers daily than was the case in 1952.

LACK OF TIME MAJOR REASON FOR NOT READING PAPERS MORE OFTEN ...

MORE THAN A FIFTH OF GERMAN NEWSPAPER READERS READ MORE THAN ONE PAPER ... The bulk of the readers, however, limit their reading to only one newspaper and indicate no desire to read more.

THOSE NOT INTERESTED IN READING MORE THAN ONE PAPER ADVANCE LACK OF TIME AND ADDITIONAL EXPENSE AS LEADING REASONS ...

MOST READERS ARE SUBSCRIBERS ... This percentage (84%) represents a significant increase in newspaper subscription over that found in 1952.

OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS THE MOST FREQUENT READERS OF NEWSPAPERS ...

FREQUENCY OF NEWSPAPER READING INCREASES WITH AGE ...

PROTESTANTS MORE FREQUENT NEWSPAPER READERS THAN CATHOLICS ...

NATIVES TEND TO READ THE PAPERS MORE REGULARLY THAN EXPELLEES ...

FREE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ADHERENTS MOST FREQUENT READERS OF NEWSPAPERS ...

NORTHERN GERMANY HIGHEST IN FREQUENT NEWSPAPER READING - BAVARIA LOWEST ...

WHERE PEOPLE LIVE A MAJOR FACTOR IN NEWSPAPER READING HABIT ... In cities over 100,000 population the reading frequency is highest, in communities under 2,000 population it is lowest.

INCREASE IN REGULARITY OF NEWSPAPER READING AMONG THE LESS-EDUCATED DOUBLE THAT OF WELL-EDUCATED ...

Section 2: Some Characteristics of the Newspapers Read

GREAT BULK OF GERMAN NEWSPAPER READERS READ "INDEPENDENT" PUBLICATIONS ... While 78% read papers with no political inclination, 13% read CDU-inclined papers and 9% SPD papers. Extreme rightist and extreme leftist papers are read by less than one per cent. Trend indicates a rise in preference for independent newspapers and a drop in the percentage reading SPD papers since 1952.

NEWSPAPER READING IS CONCENTRATED IN PAPERS WITH THE LARGEST CIRCULATION ...

Section 3: Exposure to Various Kinds of Newspaper Content

LOCAL NEWS FAVORITE NEWSPAPER FARE ... Three-fourths of the population regularly follow their local communities' activities. Crime and accident reports have the next largest regular audience.

MOST OF THE NEWSPAPER AUDIENCE, HOWEVER, READ SERIOUS CONTENTS ... 82% may be considered regular serious content readers, i.e. people regularly reading at least one of these types of material - German economic-political news, international economic-political news, or editorials.

READING OF SERIOUS CONTENTS HIGHEST AMONG "ELITE" GROUPS ...

Section 4: How Does Radio Supplement Reading?

IDENTICAL MAJORITIES LISTEN TO RADIO NEWS EVERYDAY AS READ NEWSPAPERS REGULARLY ... Not only has frequency of newspaper reading increased - as indicated earlier - but more people today listen to radio news daily than did so in 1952.

LARGE AUDIENCE OVERLAP BETWEEN RADIO AND NEWSPAPERS ...

MORE FREQUENT NEWSCAST LISTENERS ALSO MORE LIKELY TO SELECT SERIOUS NEWSPAPER CONTENT FOR REGULAR READING ...

RADIO IS CHIEF NEWS SOURCE FOR WEST GERMANS ... More than half (54%) of the adult population say they depend mainly on the radio for information about world and German events.

DEPENDENCE UPON RADIO HAS INCREASED CONSIDERABLY AMONG OPINION-LEADING SEGMENTS ...

AMONG ALL GROUPS OF NEWSPAPER READERS RADIO CITED MORE OFTEN THAN NEWSPAPERS AS MAIN SOURCE OF INFORMATION ...

HOWEVER, EXCEPT FOR DAILY LISTENERS, THERE IS GREATER TENDENCY BY RADIO NEWS LISTENERS TO TURN TO NEWSPAPERS ...

B. EVALUATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Section 1: What Does the German Newspaper Consumer Think of Today's Press?

WEST GERMAN PRESS RATED "GOOD" BY HALF OF ITS READERS ... 35% consider it fair, and only 2% give unfavorable ratings. Since 1952, a drop in adverse rating of the press can be noticed, including a slight improvement in the general opinion of the German press.

READERS OF SPD-INCLINED PAPERS RATE GERMAN PRESS HIGHER ...

THE BETTER EDUCATED AND UPPER CLASS READERS RATE GERMAN PRESS MORE CRITICALLY ...

AS IN 1952, ONLY A MINORITY BELIEVES THE PRESS REPORTS TRUTHFULLY...

BUT A MAJORITY BELIEVES THAT PRESS REPORTS ARE MORE TRUTHFUL TODAY THAN UNDER HITLER ... Only about one in ten Germans feel that the newspaper reports are less true today or just as little true to the facts as during the Third Reich, compared with almost one in five in 1952.

GENERAL DISTRUST OF NEWSPAPERS BEHIND SUSPICION THAT PRESS HAS NOT IMPROVED ...

RADIO RATED MUCH MORE RELIABLE THAN NEWSPAPERS ...

Section 2: Some German Views on What Newspapers Should and Do Print

WHILE RELATIVELY FEW READERS CONSIDER A PARTY PRESS A GOOD IDEA, A DECREASED PERCENTAGE NOW THINKS IT IS ACTUALLY BAD ... Only about one in ten readers considers the idea of newspapers representing a particular party or group to be good. On the other hand, while in 1952 more than half thought this a bad idea, only a third hold this view today.

THOSE OBJECTING TO A PARTY PRESS STRESS NEED FOR OBJECTIVE REPORTING ...

THOSE FAVORING A PARTY PRESS FEEL IT GIVES DIVERSE VIEWPOINTS AN OPPORTUNITY TO BE HEARD ...

SIX OUT OF TEN READERS DO NOT THINK THEIR NEWSPAPERS REPRESENT SPECIAL GROUPS OR PARTIES ... According to the respondents' own definition of the political affiliation of their papers, 12% of the German readers believe that they read newspapers with CDU tendencies, and 7% say that the papers they read are SPD-inclined.

READERS OF "INDEPENDENT" PRESS MOST LIKELY TO BE "CORRECT" IN THEIR DESIGNATION OF THE POLITICAL TONE OF THE PAPERS READ ...

WEST GERMANS EVENLY DIVIDED AS TO WHETHER PRESS TODAY CAN FREELY PUBLISH EVERYTHING ...

GOVERNMENT CONTROL LEADING REASON ADVANCED FOR LIMITED FREEDOM OF PRESS ...

OPINION-LEADING ELEMENTS MORE LIKELY TO CONSIDER PRESS RESTRICTED ...

LARGE MAJORITY OF GERMANS FAVOR THE VIEW THAT NEWSPAPERS SHOULD EXPOSE CORRUPTION EVEN AT RISK OF HARMING GOVERNMENT REPUTATION ...

MORE OF THE SERIOUS CONTENT READERS THAN OF THE LIGHT CONTENT NEWSPAPER READERS FAVOR ATTACKS ON CORRUPTION ...

ONE-THIRD ARE SATISFIED WITH PRESENT SITUATION ... Whatever they believe to be the case, i.e. they either think the press <u>should</u> and <u>could</u> publish everything or feel the press <u>should not</u> publish corruption and <u>is actually restricted</u> from doing so.

ABOUT HALF OF THE WEST FAVOR REPORTS OF REPROACHES AGAINST ADENAUER THROUGH PRESS AND RADIO AS WELL ...

THOSE WHO FAVOR REPORTING CRITICISM SAY IT IS IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST ...

THOSE WANTING SUPPRESSION OR REPROACHES AGAINST ADENAUER FEEL THAT THESE REPROACHES ARE UNDESERVED ...

A MAJORITY FAVOR REPORTING REPROACHES AGAINST THE WESTERN POWERS ... Only a negligible minority (10%) do not want adverse reports published against the Western Powers, but a clear majority (for press and radio as well) are for publication of such reports .

"DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS" AND "INTEREST IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS" PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZED AMONG REASONS FOR THE DESIRE TO PUBLICIZE ADVERSE REPORTS ABOUT WESTERN POWERS ...

THOSE WANTING NO PUBLICATION OF ADVERSE REPORTS AGAINST THE WESTERN POWERS FEAR GERMANY'S PRESTIGE WOULD BE WEAKENED AND THE GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE WEST WOULD BE UNFAVORABLY AFFECTED ...

NO MAJORITY SUPPORT INDICATED FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS ...

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS HIGHEST AMONG OPINION-LEADING ELEMENTS ...

PREPONDERANT OPINIONS HOLD THAT THE GERMAN NEWSPAPERS GIVE A FAVORABLE (BUT ACCURATE) PICTURE OF THE AMERICANS AND THEIR ACTIONS HERE ...

II. A Brief Appraisal of Other Written Media

Section 1: Readership and Evaluation of Periodicals

SIX OUT OF TEN GERMANS READ PERIODICALS ...

MOST PERIODICAL READERS READ REGULARLY ...

"LACK OF TIME" OUTWEIGHS "LACK OF MONEY" AMONG REASONS FOR NOT READING PERIODICALS ...

ABOUT FOUR IN TEN READERS READ MORE THAN ONE MAGAZINE OR PICTORIAL ...

ABOUT HALF OF THE MAGAZINE AUDIENCE READS THE GENERAL TYPE OF PICTORIAL ... General pictorials, those without a major tendency as to content, such as Quick, Revue, Stern or Neue Illustrierte, etc., are read by 47% of the total readership. Another 26% make use of radio pictorials. Almost a third, however, read pictorials of a religious nature. This type of periodical, therefore, occupies second place in a ranking of the various kinds of periodicals according to the frequency with which they are read.

ONLY ONE IN TWENTY GERMANS CONSIDERS A PARTICULAR MAGAZINE POLITICALLY HARMFUL ...

"DER SPIEGEL" MENTIONED MOST OFTEN AS POLITICALLY HARMFUL ... Of those saying yes to the previous question, almost four in ten name the "Spiegel" as a politically harmful publication, followed by 22% giving the "Stern."

LOW INFORMATIVE VALUE ATTRIBUTED TO PERIODICALS GENERALLY ... A clear majority of the West German population regards the German magazines and pictorials mainly as something to be read for entertainment rather than for news and information, like newspapers and radio.

Section 2: Some Data on Readership and Evaluation of Pamphlets

PUBLIC CONTACT WITH PAMPHLETS DISTINCTLY LIMITED ... Only 30% remember having encountered such material over the past year. Since 1952, however, a slight but significant rise in pamphlet awareness and in readership can be noticed.

ABOUT ONE QUARTER OF PAMPHLET AUDIENCE READS MATERIAL AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH ...

OPINION-LEADING ELEMENTS AGAIN HAVE MOST CONTACT WITH PAMPHLET ...

REMEMBERED PAMPHLETS MOSTLY CONCERNED WITH POLITICS ...

PROPAGANDA CONSIDERED MAIN PURPOSE OF PAMPHLETS ...

Section 3: Book Readership and Interest in U.S. Authors

NEARLY HALF DO NOT READ BOOKS AT ALL ... Only about a quarter (27%) of the adult population reads books rather regularly, i.e. at least one book a month, another 28% do so more seldom, but the largest percentage (45%) claims they have not read a book at all during the past year.

ONE OUT OF FIVE FAMILIAR WITH AMERICAN AUTHORS ...

MARGARET MITCHELL BEST KNOWN AMERICAN AUTHOR ...

AMERICAN BOOKS RECEIVE VERY FAVORABLE RATING ... The overwhelming majority of those having contact with American books and authors rate them "very good" (50%) or "good" (30%). Almost nobody (less than one half of one per cent) rates them as "bad."

MITCHELL'S "GONE WITH THE WIND" STILL REMAINS MOST READ AMERICAN BOOK IN GERMANY ... Eight per cent of the West German adult population report having read Mitchell's "Gone with the Wind" - that means roughly 3 million people in Germany. Two books by Hemingway take second and third place.

III. A Brief Comparative Evaluation of Different Media

Section 1: Media Activity and Audience Overlap

LARGE AUDIENCE OVERLAP BETWEEN MEDIA INCLUDES ALMOST ENTIRE ADULT POPULATION ... Only two in a hundred people (2%) were found to have no contact at all with news media, such as radio and press, or with other written media, such as periodicals and pamphlets which mainly function as supplementary sources of information. That means that through the combined impact of all four media practically the entire adult population is eventually reached.

Section 2: Comparative Judgments on Particular Criteria

RADIO APPEAL TOPS PRESS - TWO TO ONE ...

GREAT MAJORITY CONSIDERS RADIO AS MOST RELIABLE INFORMATION SOURCE ...

BUT PRESS BEATS RADIO IN GENERAL FREEDOM TO PUBLISH ...

AND PRESS ALSO TOPS RADIO IN FREEDOM TO CRITICIZE GOVERNMENT ...

PRESS AND RADIO RATED EQUALLY HIGH IN REGARD TO COMPREHENSIBILITY ...

ON THE AVERAGE RADIO IS RATED HIGHER THAN PRESS ...

PRESS BELIEVED TO CARRY THE MOST PROPAGANDA ... A partial explanation as to why press is rated lower than radio might be the finding that a large group (about 4 out of ten Germans) thinks the press disseminates the most propaganda, while only a small minority (15%) say so about radio.

I. General Appraisal of Present-Day Press

Here in Part A will be a description of the newspaper-reading audience in West Germany - how they differ from non-readers, what use they make of other media, (i.e. how does radio supplement newspaper reading,) certain characteristics of the newspapers they read - and inquire briefly into exposure to various kinds of newspaper content. In Part B, there will be an evaluation of the German press as a whole - an assessment based upon what the German people themselves think about the purposes and practices of the newspapers they read.

A - NEWSPAPER READERSHIP AND PREFERENCES

Before one begins to study the recommendations and attitudes toward the press, it is necessary to show and analyse general newspaper habits, frequency of newspaper reading, kinds of newspapers read, and characteristics of newspaper readers.

Section 1: The German Newspaper Audience

GREAT MAJORITY OF WEST GERMANS READ PAPERS DAILY ...

Only a small minority of Germans do not read newspapers, 65% of the adult population reads the press at least six times a week, and another 22% read papers from one to five times weekly.

Only one in seven adults reads the press less than once a week or not at all as compared to one in six in 1952.

Trend figures indicate a slight increase in frequency of newspaper reading since today almost 10% more people read the papers daily than in 1952.

"Do you read newspapers? - Approximately how often do you read the newspapers during the week?"

	West Germany		
	Feb 1952 (1198)	Nov 1952 (1193)	May 1955 (1251)
6 times a week, daily	56%	56%	65%
4 - 5 times a week	8	11	7
2 - 3 times a week	15 (28)	11 (28)	9 (22)
Once a week	5	6	6
Less than once a week	2	3	2
Don't read the newspapers	14	13	11
	100%	100%	100%

LACK OF TIME MAJOR REASON FOR NOT READING PAPERS MORE OFTEN ...

People who either do not read papers at all or who read them less than six times a week were asked for their reasons.

While in 1952 respondents gave lack of money as the principal reason for not buying the paper more often or for not subscribing to it at all, the major reason today is lack of time.

"Can you tell me why you don't read the newspaper (more often)?" (Asked of those reading newspapers less than six times a week or not at all.)

	West Germany	
	Feb 52	May 55
I cannot spare the time:	11%	14%
"No time, I have a big family to look after."		
"Being a housewife I don't have the time."		
"Because I don't have enough time. My job takes up so much of my strength that I'm tired out at night and go to bed early."		
"I'm working on a farm, we are short of labor."		
"I don't always find time for it."		
"I have so much work to do that I can't spare the time for reading."		
Newspapers are too expensive for me:	14	8
"That's too expensive, my husband doesn't earn so much money."		
"It costs too much, we've just set up a household, and there's too much we've got to buy."		
"Where is the money to come from? With the small pension I get it's impossible. The four marks for a subscription would take care of the electricity bill for a month."		
I am not interested:	8	7
"At my age I'm not interested in it any more."		
"As a young girl I'm not too interested in it."		
"I don't care much about it. I prefer to read the Bible."		
"I don't like to read very much. I prefer to do my household chores."		
"Because we've a radio set. We think it's not necessary to read a newspaper regularly."		
"I listen to the radio, so I don't need a newspaper."		
The newspaper does not appear more often:	12	5
"The paper I've subscribed to doesn't appear more than two to three times a week."		
"It doesn't appear more often."		
"We only subscribed for three copies a week."		
"Because it only appears three times a week."		

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	West Germany	
	Feb 52	May 55
My eyesight is too weak:	2%	1%
"I've such weak eyes that reading is too tiring for me."		
"I'm too old, my eyesight is very poor."		
I have not subscribed to a newspaper:		1
"I personally don't take a paper and I can't always borrow one from others."		
"I don't subscribe to a newspaper."	5	
Other answers:		2
"Because of family troubles (death in the family)."		
"We live too far out of town, that makes things difficult."		
"I only read during the winter."		
No opinion/No answer:		2
	52%@	40%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MORE THAN A FIFTH OF GERMAN NEWSPAPER READERS READ MORE THAN ONE PAPER ...

Twenty-one per cent of the readers claim to read two papers or more, and another 14% say they would like to read more than one. The bulk of the readers, however, limit their reading to only one newspaper and indicate no desire to read more.

Since 1952, the trend shows a six per cent rise among those satisfied with reading only one paper.

"Which newspaper(s) do you read?"

IF ONLY ONE NAMED:
"Would you like to read more than one newspaper, or is one enough for you?" (Asked of newspaper readers only = 100%.)

	West Germany	
	Feb 1952 (1024)	May 1955 (1116)
Read three or more	4%	5%
Read two	15 (19)	16 (21)
Read one, but would like to read more	23	14
Read one and one is enough	57	63
No opinion	1	2
	100%	100%

THOSE NOT INTERESTED IN READING MORE THAN ONE PAPER ADVANCE LACK OF TIME AND ADDITIONAL EXPENSE AS LEADING REASONS ...

"Could you perhaps tell me why you wouldn't like to read more than one newspaper?" (Asked of those reading only one paper and not interested in reading more.)

	Newspaper Readers
Because I cannot spare the time:	25%

"I don't have so much time for reading. Sometimes I even don't get through with the one I have."
"I have no time for that. I have to make a living by taking in piece work."
"I rarely read this one. I'm very overburdened with work."
"As a housewife I have so much work to do that I can't spare the time for reading, otherwise I would like to read."
"My job takes up so much of my time that I can't read more than one paper."
"Living in the country, you don't have time for these things."
"I don't have the time, I only superficially read newspapers and then those items I'm interested in."

Because I cannot spare the money:	13

"We don't have the money for it, however, my husband would like to read two newspapers."
"For financial reasons I can't afford more than one newspaper."
"With my small pension I can't afford it."
"Because we don't have enough money. Newspapers ought to be cheaper."
"We just had this house built and that cost a lot of money."
"We must consider the question of money."

Because one newspaper is sufficient for me:	10

"For me as a housewife one paper suffices."
"What I want to know I find in the 'Volksfreund'."
"For me the 'Bildzeitung' is enough, and I like it, too."
"It's enough what they offer, I don't want more than that."
"That's enough for my information."

Because all newspapers have the same contents:	7

"Because, in my opinion, all papers have the same contents, only that they express themselves differently."
"They all copy from each other, why should I read everything twice?"
"It's always the same you read in newspapers - the most important events are offered by all of them in much the same way."
"All papers write about the same stuff, some a day earlier, some a day later."

Because I am not interested in the contents of newspapers:	4

"I don't understand this political stuff and it doesn't interest me either, one newspaper is enough for me."
"I'm so old that I don't care any more about what's happening in the world."
"I don't want to worry unnecessarily, I'm not too interested."

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	Newspaper Readers
Because the radio and one newspaper provide sufficient information:	2%
"One paper is enough for us if, in addition, we listen to the radio news."	
"Together with the radio news, it's enough for me to form an opinion."	
"Radio, plus a newspaper, is enough for me."	
Because I read something else:	2
"I read periodicals in addition to a newspaper."	
"I read a Christian Sunday-paper as well as a newspaper, and that's sufficient for me."	
"I subscribe to a circulating library."	
Because the newspapers contradict each other and are not objective:	1
"Because I would then get completely mixed up. One newspaper would put things one way and the other would present quite a different picture."	
Because my health prohibits reading:	1
"I hardly ever read because my eyes are failing me. So why should I read still more?"	
Other answers:	1
"There's only one newspaper in the house, and I won't go somewhere else to get another one."	
No opinion/No answer:	1
	67%@

MOST READERS ARE SUBSCRIBERS ...

The overwhelming majority (84%) of West German newspaper readers subscribe to the papers they read. This percentage represents a significant increase in newspaper subscription over that found in 1952. Only one in ten buys them at news-stands while the rest get them elsewhere.

"Do you or your family subscribe to (a) newspaper(s), or do you buy them at the news-stand, or do you get your newspaper(s) elsewhere?"

	Newspaper Readers	
	Feb 1952 (1024)	May 1955 (1116)
Yes, subscribe to several newspapers	9%	16%
Yes, subscribe to one newspaper	70 (79)	68 (84)
Yes, buy them at the news-stand	9	10
Yes, get the newspaper elsewhere (Where?)	18	11
	106%@	105%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS THE MOST FREQUENT READERS OF NEWSPAPERS ...

As one might expect, the extent to which higher status and opinion-leading groups in the West German population read newspapers regularly is much greater than that found for other groups. At least three quarters or more of the men, the well educated, the economically better off, the prestige occupations and the politically and organizationally more active people represent themselves as daily newspaper readers, as against significantly lower percentages for other groups.

"Approximately how often do you read the newspaper during the week?"

	FREQUENCY OF NEWSPAPER READING			
	Daily, 6 times a week	Less than 6 times a week	Don't read the newspapers	No. of cases
West Germans Generally:	65%	24%	11%...100%	1251
Sex:				
Men	73	20	7	534
Women	61	26	13	717
Education:				
Elementary school	63	25	12	1035
Beyond elementary	80	17	3	216
Income:				
Up to 149 DM	51	25	24	149
150 to 299 DM	57	30	13	327
300 to 399 DM	65	25	10	260
400 to 499 DM	74	19	7	156
500 DM and more	80	16	4	247
No answer	72	19	9	112
Socio-Economic Status:				
Upper classes	82	18	-	34
Middle classes	75	17	8	595
Lower classes	57	29	14	622
Occupation:				
Professionals	82	18	-	39
Businessmen	87	9	4	78
White-collar workers	72	24	4	137
Skilled laborers	67	24	9	132
Semi-skilled laborers	55	31	14	137
Domestic service	69	18	13	39
Farmers, farmhands	67	25	8	86
Housewives	64	23	13	423
Pensioners; retired	59	25	16	180
Opinion Leadership Scale@:				
Very active	77	17	6	82
Somewhat active	74	19	7	321
Remainder	61	26	13	848

@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

FREQUENCY OF NEWSPAPER READING INCREASES WITH AGE ...

	FREQUENCY OF NEWSPAPER READING			
	Daily, 6 times a week	Less than 6 times a week	Don't read the newspapers	No. of cases
Age:				
18 to 24 years	61%	31%	8%...100%	118
25 to 34 years	63	28	9	257
35 to 44 years	65	23	12	266
45 to 54 years	65	22	13	273
55 years and over	71	19	10	337

PROTESTANTS MORE FREQUENT NEWSPAPER READERS THAN CATHOLICS ...

	FREQUENCY OF NEWSPAPER READING			
	Daily, 6 times a week	Less than 6 times a week	Don't read the newspapers	No. of cases
Religion:				
Catholics	56%	32%	12%...100%	580
Protestants	73	17	10	625
Others	80	20	-	15
No religion	75	12	13	31

NATIVES TEND TO READ THE PAPERS MORE REGULARLY THAN EXPELLEES ...

	FREQUENCY OF NEWSPAPER READING			
	Daily, 6 times a week	Less than 6 times a week	Don't read the newspapers	No. of cases
Origin:				
Natives	67%	23%	10%...100%	986
Expellees, refugees	59	26	15	265

FREE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ADHERENTS MOST FREQUENT READERS OF NEWSPAPERS ...

This may be due, however, not to political grounds, but rather to the fact that this party tends to appeal more strongly than the others to the better educated, upper socio-economic and upper income groups.

	FREQUENCY OF NEWSPAPER READING			
	Daily, 6 times a week	Less than 6 times a week	Don't read the newspapers	No. of cases
Party Preference:				
SPD	68%	25%	7%...100%	227
CDU/CSU	68	23	9	314
FDP	82	16	2	50
Other parties	59	24	17	66
No party	66	24	10	295
No party preference stated	61	23	16	299

NORTHERN GERMANY HIGHEST IN FREQUENT NEWSPAPER READING - BAVARIA LOWEST ...

It is interesting to note that Bavaria rates lowest on the regularity of newspaper reading, but highest on infrequent reading. The greatest proportion of non-readership, however, is found in Hesse with 22% who don't read the papers at all; that is, twice as much as the proportion within West Germany generally.

	FREQUENCY OF NEWSPAPER READING			
	Daily, 6 times a week	Less than 6 times a week	Don't read the newspapers	No. of cases
West Germans Generally:	65%	24%	11%...100%	1251
Land:				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	83	14	3	105
Lower Saxony	75	17	8	179
North Rhine/Westphalia	74	15	11	333
Hesse	66	12	22	109
Rhineland/Palatinate	61	22	17	82
Wuerttemberg/Baden	66	22	12	211
Bavaria	41	52	7	232

WHERE PEOPLE LIVE A MAJOR FACTOR IN NEWSPAPER READING HABITS ...

The size of the place where a person lives is important in influencing the amount of newspaper reading. In cities over 100,000 population, the reading frequency is highest, in communities under 2,000 population lowest.

	FREQUENCY OF NEWSPAPER READING			
	Daily, 6 times a week	Less than 6 times a week	Don't read the newspapers	No. of cases
City Size:				
Up 1,999	57%	28%	15%...100%	394
2,000 to 24,999	64	26	10	380
25,000 to 99,999	65	18	17	114
100,000 and over	76	19	5	363

If in further analysis of the two extreme city-size groups education is held constant, the factor of where they live is particularly important among the lesser educated people, as the following table shows:

PER CENT READING NEWSPAPERS

	Daily, 6 times a week				Never			
	1952		1955		1952		1955	
Among the well-educated:								
Living in cities over 100,000 population	78%	13%*	83%	13%*	8%	1%*	3%	2%*
Living in communities under 2,000	65		70		7		5	
Among the less-educated:								
Living in cities over 100,000 population	64%	19%*	74%	18%*	10%	13%*	6%	11%*
Living in communities under 2,000	45		56		23		17	

One reason that one would expect to find city size influencing newspaper reading habits is that papers in small communities are published sometimes less frequently than are city papers. It is always possible, of course, that residents of these small towns and villages could supplement their reading of local newspapers by subscription to daily newspapers serving their area but as was shown earlier only a small proportion of people read more than one paper.

INCREASE IN REGULARITY OF NEWSPAPER READING AMONG THE LESS-EDUCATED DOUBLES THAT OF WELL-EDUCATED ...

As was indicated earlier a general increase in frequency of newspaper reading was found since 1952, but even more noteworthy seems to be the fact that the increase in regular newspaper reading is twice as big among the less educated as among the well educated people.

FREQUENCY OF NEWSPAPER READING

	Daily, 6 times a week		Less than 6 times a week		Don't read the newspapers	
	1952	1955	1952	1955	1952	1955
Education:						
Well educated	74%	80%	21%	17%	5%	3%
Less educated	51	63	32	25	17	12

* Difference between the two extreme city size groups.

@ Percentages do not add to 100% since the group "Less than 6 times a week" is ommitted in order to sharpen presentation of the extreme groups.

Section 2: Some Characteristics of the Newspapers Read

This section will be concerned with two major characteristics of the German newspapers - the classification of papers according to circulation and identification according to their political coloration.

GREAT BULK OF GERMAN NEWSPAPER READERS READ "INDEPENDENT" PUBLICATIONS ...

Almost four in five readers (78%) read papers with no political inclination that indicates a significant rise in preference given to independent newspapers since 1952. Thirteen per cent read CDU-inclined papers with no change notable since 1952. Papers with SPD tendencies, however, are read by 9% today as compared to a readership of 15% three years ago. Only less than one per cent read extreme rightist and extreme leftist party papers.

Classification** of Political Affiliations of Newspapers Read by Respondents

	Based upon Newspaper Readers	
	Feb 1952 (1024)	May 1955 (1116)
CDU-inclined	14%	13%
SPD-inclined	15	9
Extreme right and left parties inclined	2	*
Other parties inclined	4	*
Independent newspapers@	65	78
	100%	100%

** Based on information supplied by the Press Division, Office of Public Affairs, the criteria used for this designation was the known political affiliation or tendencies of regular contributors(columnists, etc.) to the newspapers and of people whose names appear in the newspaper mastheads, in addition to a continuing analysis of editorial comments published in the papers.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ It must be noted that the degree of independence varies, and that this is not intended to be a hard-and-fast definition of those papers so classified. It can be said, moreover, that these papers differ generally from those classified into the other groups and do not consistently publish along the line of a given party or interest group.

WHO READS THE PARTY PAPERS? ...

As indicated before, the great majority of German adult population read independent newspapers. That is also seen in the population group comparisons. However, as in 1952 there is a slight tendency for more of the better educated and upper-class people to read independent newspapers and fewer SPD-inclined papers than is found among newspaper readers in general.

Within the age groupings, the 18 to 24 year olds are more likely to read papers with political party tendencies. They give a slight preference to CDU-inclined publications. Furthermore it is interesting to note that twice as many in the 35 to 44 year group read CDU-inclined papers as read SPD papers.

As one might have expected, SPD papers are mostly read by SPD followers, while CDU papers are more likely to be read by CDU followers. More CDU adherents, however, read independent newspapers, while SPD-inclined readers are lowest in preference for publications with no political coloration.

Catholics and Protestants differ significantly in preference given to SPD or CDU papers, i.e. Catholics are more than twice as likely to read CDU papers as are Protestants, and, from the latter, twice as many respondents prefer SPD papers as is true for Catholics.

In respect to city size and Land, people in communities with less than 2,000 population are less likely to read SPD-inclined papers. In North Rhine/Westphalia fewer people read "independent papers" and more people read CDU-inclined papers. In Hessen, however, the readership of SPD papers seems to be highest, while in Bavarialowest. The highest readership of "independent papers" can be found in Rhineland/Palatinate.

"Which newspapers do you read?"

Classification of Political Affiliations of Newspapers Read by Respondents

	CDU-inclined	SPD-inclined	Other parties inclined	Independent newspapers	No. of cases
All Newspaper Readers	13%	9%	*%	78%...100%	1116
Sex:					
Men	13	10	*	77	494
Women	13	9	*	78	622
Education:					
Elementary school	12	11	*	77	906
Beyond elementary	14	4	*	82	210
Income:					
Up to 149 DM	10	13	-	77	113
150 to 299 DM	11	6	*	83	285
300 to 399 DM	13	14	*	73	234
400 to 499 DM	10	10	-	80	146
500 DM and more	12	9	-	79	236
No answer	24	6	1	69	102
Opinion Leadership Scale@:					
Very active	12	6	3	79	77
Somewhat active	10	12	-	78	299
Remainder	13	9	*	78	740

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

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	CDU-inclined	SPD-inclined	Other parties inclined	Independent newspapers	No. of cases
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	12%	-%	-%	88%...100%	34
Middle classes	15	4	-	81	549
Lower classes	10	15	*	75	533
Age:					
18 to 24 years	17	12	-	71	109
25 to 34 years	11	6	*	83	235
35 to 44 years	18	9	-	73	232
45 to 54 years	12	10	*	78	237
55 years and over	9	12	*	79	303
Party Preference:					
SPD	7	22	-	71	212
CDU/CSU	19	5	-	76	286
FDP	8	8	-	84	49
Other parties	4	2	4	90	55
No party	10	10	*	80	264
No party preference stated	15	5	-	80	250
Occupation:					
Professionals	20	-	-	80	39
Businessmen	19	3	-	78	75
White-collar workers	14	7	-	79	132
Skilled laborers	13	12	1	74	120
Semi-skilled laborers	6	18	-	76	117
Domestic service	6	9	-	85	34
Farmers, farmhands	13	-	-	87	79
Housewives	13	11	*	76	369
Pensioners; retired	11	13	1	75	151
Religion:					
Catholics	19	6	*	75	512
Protestants	7	12	-	81	562
Others	20	20	-	60	15
No religion	7	15	8	70	27
Origin:					
Natives	13	9	*	78	890
Expellees, refugees	9	9	-	82	226
City Size:					
Up to 1,999	13	2	-	85	335
2,000 to 24,999	16	15	*	69	343
25,000 to 99,999	10	5	-	85	94
100,000 and over	10	13	1	76	344
Land:					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	10	4	1	85	102
Lower Saxony	1	10	*	89	164
North Rhine/Westphalia	30	21	-	49	296
Hesse	2	24	-	74	85
Rhineland/Palatinate	14	-	-	86	68
Wuerttemberg/Baden	5	-	-	95	185
Bavaria	10	2	1	87	216

* Less than one half of one per cent.

NEWSPAPER READING IS CONCENTRATED IN PAPERS WITH THE LARGEST CIRCULATION ...

Rather than spread out over a large number of small papers , newspaper reading in Germany seems to be concentrated in the big city papers with the largest circulation.

Only 17% of the audience reads newspapers having a circulation of 10,000 or less while 43% reads papers having a circulation of over 100,000.

	All Newspaper Readers	
	1952 (1024)	1955 (1116)
Newspaper Circulation:		
10,000 or less	11%	17%
Between 10,000 and 100,000	46	40
Over 100,000	43	43
	100%	100%

The percentage of those reading the largest circulation papers among the well-educated is nearly twice as large as that found among those with less education. On the other hand, about three times as many of those with elementary schooling read the smaller, local papers as is the case among those with high school and university training.

Men are also slightly more likely to read the large circulation newspapers, than are women. Readership of these mass circulation papers also seems to increase with income.

	Newspaper Circulation			
	10,000 or less	Between 10,000 and 100,000	Over 100,000	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	15%	37%	48%...100%	494
Women	19	42	39	622
Education:				
Elementary school	20	42	38	906
Beyond elementary	7	28	65	210
Income:				
Up to 149 DM	27	41	32	113
150 to 299 DM	23	49	28	285
300 to 399 DM	16	43	41	234
400 to 499 DM	17	32	51	146
500 DM and more	7	27	66	236
No answer	17	46	37	102
Occupation:				
Professionals	11	29	60	39
Businessmen	14	35	51	75
White-collar workers	8	32	60	132
Skilled laborers	11	41	48	120
Semi-skilled laborers	20	35	45	117
Domestic service	21	35	44	34
Farmers, farmhands	39	52	9	79
Housewives	18	44	38	369
Pensioners; retired	18	40	42	151

An excellent correlation between circulation of newspapers and the size of the locality where people live can be noted in the table below. The bigger the place, the greater the tendency to read the largest newspapers.

City Size:				
Up to 1,999	31	50	19	335
2,000 to 4,999	23	43	34	136
5,000 to 99,999	16	41	43	301
100,000 and over	3	28	69	344

Section 3: Exposure to Various Kinds of Newspaper Content

LOCAL NEWS FAVORITE NEWSPAPER FARE ...

Three fourths of the West Germans regularly follow their local communities' activities as 75% of the respondents report that they read the local news most of the time.

Crime and accident reports have the next largest regular audience - 50% of the people read such reports in the press most of the time.

Running third is readership of advertisements (44%) followed closely by news about political and economic affairs in Germany (42%).

Also noteworthy is the finding that almost one-third (31%) of West Germans read editorials rather regularly, i.e. most of the time.

"Can you tell me what you generally read in the newspaper?" (CARD) "(Do you read ..... most of the time, occasionally, or rarely?)"

	Most of the time		Occasionally		Rarely		Don't read this content		Non-newspaper readers	
	1952	1955	1952	1955	1952	1955	1952	1955	1952	1955
Local news	68%	75%	12%	9%	4%	3%	2%	2%	14%...100%	11%...100%
Economic & political news from Germany	40	42	21	20	14	15	11	12	14	11
Economic & political news from all over the world	36	37	23	22	15	16	12	14	14	11
Cultural part	28	28	27	22	17	21	14	18	14	11
Sport news	31	26	15	10	15	15	25	38	14	11
Crime & accident reports	48	50	20	20	11	9	7	10	14	11
Entertainment & novels	33	34	17	15	15	13	21	27	14	11
Editorials	33	31	18	17	15	14	20	27	14	11
Advertisements	43	44	23	19	12	14	8	12	14	11
Other	2	6	1	2	*	1	83	80	14	11

* Less than one half of one per cent.

MOST OF THE NEWSPAPER AUDIENCE READ SERIOUS-CONTENTS ...

In the following analysis the newspaper readers were divided according to the type of content they read regularly. These readership groups were defined as follows:

Readers of serious contents: Those who most of the time read at least two of these types of material: German economic-political news, international economic-political news and editorials.

Readers of some serious contents: Those who read at least one of these types of material most of the time: German economic-political news, international economic-political news, and editorials.

Light content readers: Those who read no serious content (as defined above), but who read entertainment, crime and accident news most of the time.

Only a minority of 13% regularly read no serious content at all, but most of the time entertainment, crime and accident news, etc. However, 42% may be considered regular serious content readers. Figures from 1952 are identical with the results of the present study.

	West German Newspaper Readers	
	1952 (1024)	1955 (1116)
Readers of serious contents	43%	42%
Readers of some serious contents	45	45
Light content readers	12	13
	100%	100%

READING OF SERIOUS CONTENTS HIGHEST AMONG "ELITE" GROUPS ...

Regular serious content readers are predominently men, the better educated and the upper class people. The prestige occupation groups and the organizationally and politically active readers do the least reading of light content materials.

	Readers of serious contents	Readers of some serious contents	Light content readers	No. of cases
West German Newspaper Readers	42%	45%	13%...100%	1116
Sex:				
Men	61	35	4	494
Women	28	51	21	622
Education:				
Elementary school	37	48	15	906
Beyond elementary	61	31	8	210
Income:				
Up to 149 DM	31	55	14	113
150 to 299 DM	33	51	16	285
300 to 399 DM	40	47	13	234
400 to 499 DM	47	36	17	146
500 DM and more	53	36	11	236
No answer	45	48	7	102

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	Readers of serious contents	Readers of some serious contents	Light content readers	No. of cases
Opinion Leadership Scale@:				
Very active	71%	26%	3%...100%	77
Somewhat active	50	40	10	299
Remainder	35	49	16	740
Socio-Economic Status:				
Upper classes	76	21	3	34
Middle classes	48	41	11	549
Lower classes	33	51	16	533
Age:				
18 to 24 years	25	52	23	109
25 to 34 years	45	40	15	235
35 to 44 years	43	41	16	232
45 to 54 years	37	53	10	237
55 years and over	47	43	10	303
Party Preference:				
SPD	47	41	12	212
CDU/CSU	48	39	13	286
FDP	53	41	6	49
Other parties	51	36	13	55
No party	37	48	15	264
No party preference stated	29	55	16	250
Occupation:				
Professionals	61	36	3	39
Businessmen	62	33	5	75
White-collar workers	53	33	14	132
Skilled laborers	52	40	8	120
Semi-skilled laborers	36	50	14	117
Domestic service	26	56	18	34
Farmers, farmhands	33	58	9	79
Housewives	30	50	20	369
Pensioners; retired	48	43	9	151
Religion:				
Catholics	38	45	17	512
Protestants	44	45	11	562
Others	54	33	13	15
No religion	45	48	7	27
Origin:				
Natives	40	47	13	890
Expellees, refugees	47	40	13	226
City Size:				
Up to 1,999	35	51	14	335
2,000 to 24,999	38	47	15	343
25,000 to 99,999	56	38	6	94
100,000 and over	48	38	14	344
Land:				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	43	44	13	102
Lower Saxony	45	45	10	164
North Rhine/Westphalia	49	40	11	296
Hesse	41	35	24	85
Rhineland/Palatinate	47	44	9	68
Wuerttemberg/Baden	42	48	10	185
Bavaria	26	55	19	216

@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

Section 4: How Does Radio Supplement Reading?

While this chapter of the present report is primarily concerned with the West German press and has already described in the previous sections the broad pattern of newspaper reading, certain audience characteristics, and selectivity of newspaper content, it is also important to include a consideration of the press' major competitor in the distribution of news.

This section describes the radio news audience in West Germany, how it compares with that of the press, and the audience overlap between the two.

IDENTICAL MAJORITIES LISTEN TO RADIO NEWS EVERYDAY AS READ NEWSPAPERS REGULARLY ...

About the same proportion of West Germans listen to radio news at least once daily (62%) as read newspapers regularly, i.e. daily or six times a week (65%). Not only has the frequency of newspaper reading increased somewhat - as indicated earlier - but more people listen to radio news daily today than did so in 1952.

"Do you listen to the news over the radio? Approximately how often during the week?"

"Approximately how often do you read the newspapers during the week?"

	Listen to radio news		Read newspapers	
	Feb 1952 (1198)	May 1955 (1251)	Feb 1952 (1198)	May 1955 (1251)
Daily	54%	62%	56%	65%
Several times a week	22	19	23	16
Once a week	4	3	5	6
Less than once a week	3	2	2	2
Don't listen to the radio/don't listen to the news/don't read newspapers	17	14	14	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%

LARGE AUDIENCE OVERLAP BETWEEN RADIO AND NEWSPAPERS ...

News listening and news reading go together, i.e. the more frequently one listens to radio news, the more frequently he reads newspapers. Studies of audience overlap - exposure of the same people to various media - have often demonstrated that the media are to a large extent supplemental to each other. Instead of being competitive in the sense that people get their information from one - to the near exclusion of the other - the press and radio provide news for largely the same people. The more often Germans listen to radio newscasts, the more likely they are to be frequent newspaper readers. They do not consume so much news from the radio that their interest in further information is satiated, but instead are more likely than those who do comparatively little radio news listening, to turn to the newspaper to supplement their news supply.

Among West Germans who listen to the news daily 70% also read the newspapers every day as compared with 53% of those who don't listen to the radio at all.

As the amount of one's newscast listening decreases the likelihood of his reading the newspapers frequently also decreases.

FREQUENCY OF NEWSPAPER READING ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY OF RADIO NEWS LISTENING

	Radio News Listening							
	Daily		Once to several times weekly		Less than once a week or don't listen to the news		Don't listen to the radio	
	1952 (653)	1955 (777)	1952 (311)	1955 (267)	1952 (82)	1955 (82)	1952 (152)	1955 (125)
Read newspapers:								
6 times a week	61%	70%	53%	66%	47%	60%	42%	53%
2 - 5 times a week	23	14	24	17	10	14	26	19
Once a week or less	6	7	7	8	16	10	7	8
Don't read newspapers	10	9	16	9	27	16	25	20
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

MORE FREQUENT NEWSCAST LISTENERS ALSO MORE LIKELY TO SELECT SERIOUS NEWSPAPER CONTENT FOR REGULAR READING ...

People who listen daily to radio news are likely to be readers of serious newspaper content. The largest group (43%) of them read German, international economic-political news, or editorials. Only about one fifth of those who listen less than once a week or not at all to the newscasts do so.

Reading of Newspaper Content According to Frequency of Radio News Listening

	Daily (777)	Once to several times a week (267)	Less than once a week or don't listen to the news (82)	Don't listen to the radio (125)
Newspaper Readers:				
Readers of serious content	43%	32%	19%	24%
Readers of some serious content	36	45	55	50
Light content readers	12	14	10	6
Non-newspaper readers	9	9	16	20
	100%	100%	100%	100%

RADIO IS CHIEF NEWS SOURCE FOR WEST GERMANS ...

From the foregoing analysis it should be evident that newscasts are a very important product contributing continously to the information of most of West German adults. In addition, the following findings show that radio is considered the chief source of information in Germany, since it is named as the primary news source by more people than any other medium - newspapers, magazines and pictorials, or conversations with friends and acquaintances. More than one half of the West German adults say they depend mainly on the radio for information about world and German events.

"From which source do you mainly learn what is happening in the world and in Germany?" (If several mentioned: "Which is the main source?)"

	West Germany	
	Feb 1952 (1198)	May 1955 (1251)
Radio	51%	54%
Newspapers	37	36
Conversation with acquaintances	4	2
Magazines and pictorials	*	1
Other sources:	5	*
No opinion	3	7
	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

DEPENDENCE UPON RADIO HAS INCREASED CONSIDERABLY AMONG OPINION LEADING SEGMENTS ...

In 1952 the newspaper was the preferred news source of the better educated while radio was preferred by those with a more limited education. Since then this relationship has been reversed. This year's findings indicate a definite increase in dependence upon radio as a news source among men, the well-to-do, the well-educated, prestige occupations and higher income groups.

"From which source do you mainly learn what is happening in the world and in Germany?" (If several mentioned: "Which is the main source?")

	Radio		Newspapers		Other sources		No opinion		No. of cases	
	1952	1955	1952	1955	1952	1955	1952	1955	1952	1955
West Germans Generally:	51%	54%	37%	36%	9%	3%	3%	7%	100%	1198 1251
Sex:										
Men	47	55	45	40	7	1	1	4	542	534
Women	55	53	31	33	11	5	3	9	656	717
Education:										
Elementary school	53	52	35	36	9	4	3	8	966	1035
Beyond elementary	43	60	49	36	8	2	-	2	232	216

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	Radio 1952	Radio 1955	Newspapers 1952	Newspapers 1955	Other sources 1952	Other sources 1955	No opinion 1952	No opinion 1955	No. of cases 1952	No. of cases 1955
Income:										
Up to 149 DM	51%	37%	35%	35%	11%	11%	3%	17%..100%	700	149
150 to 299 DM		52		34		3		11		327
300 to 399 DM	53	60	36	33	10	4	1	3	255	260
400 to 499 DM	48	61	45	38	5	-	2	1	229	156
500 DM and more		59		38		1		2		247
No answer		48		39		3		10		112
Party Preference:										
SPD	54	57	37	36	8	3	1	4	307	227
CDU/CSU	54	57	39	36	6	3	1	4	238	314
FDP	45	62	50	38	5	-	-	-	78	50
Other parties	52	53	34	38	14	3	-	6	62	66
No party	49	51	40	37	8	4	3	8	288	295
No party preference stated	49	51	29	34	16	3	6	12	225	299
Occupation:										
Professionals	44	51	46	46	10	3	-	-	57	39
Businessmen	41	51	49	45	9	1	1	3	156	78
White-collar workers	55	66	36	32	8	-	1	2	157	137
Skilled laborers	58	59	33	36	7	2	2	3	233	132
Semi-skilled laborers	59	63	28	29	11	4	2	4	135	137
Farmers, farmhands	47	37	41	50	8	5	4	8	134	86
Pensioners; retired	45	41	39	39	10	6	6	14	214	180
Religion:										
Catholics	53	55	38	34	7	4	2	7	499	580
Protestants	49	54	36	37	12	3	3	6	641	625
Origin:										
Natives	50	53	40	37	8	4	2	6	944	986
Expellees, refugees	55	56	28	32	14	2	3	10	253	265

AMONG ALL GROUPS OF NEWSPAPER READERS RADIO CITED MORE OFTEN THAN NEWSPAPERS AS MAIN SOURCE OF INFORMATION ...

Main Source of Information According to Frequency of Newspaper Reading

Newspaper Readers	Newspapers (449)	Radio (676)	Other sources (42)	No opinion (84)
Daily, 6 times a week	44%	51%	1%	4%...100%
Less than 6 times a week	29	57	5	9
Don't read the newspapers	4	66	13	17

HOWEVER, EXCEPT FOR DAILY LISTENERS, THERE IS GREATER TENDENCY BY RADIO NEWS LISTENERS TO TURN TO NEWSPAPERS ...

Main Source of Information According to Frequency of Radio News Listening

	Radio	Newspapers	Other sources	No opinion	
	(676)	(449)	(42)	(84)	
Radio News Listeners:					
Listen daily	68%	27%	2%	3%	...100%
Once to several times a week	43	48	3	6	
Less than once a week or don't listen to radio news	20	53	5	22	
Don't listen to the radio	3	65	12	20	

B - EVALUATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The first part of this chapter was largely a description of the reader himself, his important characteristics and reading habits and generally answered the question "What do Germans read in their newspapers?" This part of the chapter "General Appraisal of Present-Day Press" will be primarily concerned with opinions of the Germans about the newspapers.

Section 1: What Does the German Newspaper Consumer Think of Today's Press?

WEST GERMAN PRESS RATED "GOOD" BY HALF OF ITS READERS ...

One half of the German newspaper audience (50%) rates the German press favorably, 35% consider it fair, and only 2% give unfavorable ratings. Since 1952, a drop in adverse rating of the press can be noticed, indicating a slight improvement in the general opinion of the German press. By and large these findings are an indication of a rather favorable climate of opinion for the newspapers, though not necessarily one of complete satisfaction on all points.

"In general, how would you judge our present newspapers - as very good, good, fair, bad, or very bad?"

	West German Newspaper Readers	
	Feb 1952 (1024)	May 1955 (1116)
Very good	1%	7%
Good	53 (54%)	43 (50%)
Fair	24	35
Bad	7	2
Very bad	1 (8)	* (2)
No opinion	14	13
	100%	100%

READERS OF SPD-INCLINED PAPERS RATE GERMAN PRESS HIGHER ...

As the following table shows the German newspapers are judged more favorably by readers of the SPD papers than by those reading CDU-inclined newspapers.

	All Newspaper readers (1116)	Readers of CDU-inclined papers (140)	Readers of SPD-inclined papers (105)	Readers of independent papers (871)
Respondents' Evaluation of Press:				
Good	50%	47%	58%	50%
Fair	35	36	30	35
Bad	2	4	1	2
No opinion	13	13	11	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

THE BETTER EDUCATED AND UPPER CLASS READERS RATE GERMAN PRESS MORE CRITICALLY ...

There is definitely more dissatisfaction with the press among the better educated segments of the population, since nearly one-half (47%) of those with more than elementary schooling say the press is only "fair" or "bad". 30% of those with elementary school education rate today's German press negatively.

The same critical attitude is held by readers among the upper socio-economic groups and higher income categories.

"In general, how would you judge our present newspapers - as very good, good, fair, bad, or very bad?"

	Good to very good	Fair	Bad to very bad	No opinion	No. of cases
All Newspaper Readers	50%	35%	2%	13%..100%	1116
Sex:					
Men	52	38	2	8	494
Women	49	33	1	17	622
Education:					
Elementary school	53	29	1	17	906
Beyond elementary	43	40	7	10	210
Income:					
Up to 149 DM	44	35	2	19	113
150 to 299 DM	52	32	3	13	285
300 to 399 DM	50	35	2	13	234
400 to 499 DM	55	35	1	9	146
500 DM and more	50	41	1	8	236
No answer	45	34	1	20	102
Opinion Leadership Scale@:					
Very active	49	35	7	9	77
Somewhat active	46	43	1	10	299
Remainder	52	32	2	14	740
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	38	50	3	9	34
Middle classes	50	37	2	11	549
Lower classes	51	32	2	15	533
Age:					
18 to 24 years	41	45	2	12	109
25 to 34 years	45	36	3	16	235
35 to 44 years	53	37	*	10	232
45 to 54 years	51	32	2	15	237
55 years and over	53	34	3	10	303
Occupation:					
Professionals	44	38	3	15	39
Businessmen	44	39	8	9	75
White-collar workers	52	35	2	11	132
Skilled laborers	50	40	1	9	120
Semi-skilled laborers	48	42	-	10	117
Domestic service	35	47	9	9	34
Farmers, farmhands	52	31	3	14	79
Housewives	53	30	2	15	369
Pensioners; retired	46	36	3	15	151
Party Preference:					
SPD	50	41	2	7	212
CDU/CSU	57	32	*	11	286
FDP	63	29	4	4	49
Other parties	47	35	5	13	55
No party	50	36	2	12	264
No party preference stated	41	35	2	22	250

(Cont'd on next page)

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Good to very good	Fair	Bad to very bad	No opinion	No. of cases
Religion:					
Catholics	50%	36%	*%	14%..100%	512
Protestants	51	35	3	11	562
Others	53	33	7	7	15
No religion	45	33	7	15	27
Origin:					
Natives	52	34	2	12	890
Expellees, refugees	44	40	2	14	226
City Size:					
Up to 1,999	52	31	1	16	335
2,000 to 24,999	49	36	1	14	343
25,000 to 99,999	45	42	2	11	94
100,000 and over	51	37	3	9	344
Land:					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	50	37	1	12	102
Lower Saxony	45	32	4	19	164
North Rhine/Westphalia	52	36	2	10	296
Hesse	53	40	2	5	85
Rhineland/Palatinate	56	24	1	19	68
Wuerttemberg/Baden	49	36	2	13	185
Bavaria	49	38	*	13	216

* Less than one half of one per cent.

AS IN 1952 ONLY A MINORITY BELIEVES THE PRESS REPORTS TRUTHFULLY ...

Only twenty-eight per cent express the belief that papers today always report truthfully on important questions. The majority of Germans think that what the newspapers of today report is not always true to the facts - and about one in seven believes that this happens often.

"As far as you know - is what the newspapers of today report on important questions of the day true to the facts or is it not always true to the facts?"

IF "Not always true to the facts":
"Does it happen often, not so often, or only seldom, that what the newspapers report is not true to the facts?"

	Feb 1952 (1198)		May 1955 (1251)	
True to the facts	28%		28%	
Not so true to the facts, (happens seldom)	13		16	
Not so true to the facts, (happens not so often)	23	55%	23	53%
Not so true to the facts, (happens often)	19		14	
No opinion	17		19	
	100%		100%	

BUT A MAJORITY BELIEVES THAT PRESS REPORTS ARE MORE TRUTHFUL TODAY THAN UNDER HITLER ...

A clear majority of 56% says that their nation's press reports more truthfully today than under the Nazi-regime. Only about one in ten Germans feels that the newspaper reports are less true today or just as little true to the facts than during the Third Reich as compared to almost one in five in 1952.

"Do you believe that what the newspapers today report about important daily questions is more true to the facts or less true to the facts than during the Third Reich?"

	Feb 1952 (1198)		May 1955 (1251)	
More true to the facts today	55%		56%	
Just as true to the facts	4		8	
Less true to the facts today	1		2	
Just as little true to the facts	17	18%	9	11%
No opinion	23		25	
	100%		100%	

GENERAL DISTRUST OF NEWSPAPERS BEHIND SUSPICION THAT PRESS HAS NOT IMPROVED ...

The leading reason for the minority's view that today's press accounts are as accurate or equally inaccurate as those of the Hitler-era publications is a basic distrust of newspapers generally, i.e. a) the belief that papers always tell falsehood and b) that the press is supervised and controlled by the government.

"Do you believe that what the newspapers today report about important daily questions is more true to the facts or less true to the facts than during the Third Reich?"

IF "Less true to the facts" and "Just as little true to the facts":
"In your opinion, what is the reason that the newspapers today are (less) (just as little) true to the facts in their reporting?"

	West Germany 1952 (1198)	1955 (1251)
Newspapers always write falsehoods:	4%	3%
"It's the way of the world that people are cheated and lied to." "They used to feed lies to us, and they're still doing it." "During the Third Reich they used to lie just as they do now."		
Newspapers are directed and controlled by the government:	2	3
"These conditions will never change because it's the government that has the last word." "I think they lied in the past if the government wanted them to, and they keep on doing so." "The politicians of today want to keep the people ignorant in much the same way as the politicians of the Nazi time did."		
Newspapers always support certain pressure groups or ideologies:	3	1
"Newspapers are always influenced by certain groups, financial or political ones, so that they have to report according to their requests." "They always support a certain ideology, yesterday it was that of the Nazis, today it's the democratic and tomorrow the Communist line."		
Newspapers carry everything they get - without conscientiously checking on the facts:	1	1
"They have to write about something to fill their space." "They happen to hear about one thing or the other and promptly print it, regardless of whether it is right or not."		
Other answers: "That's the way I feel." "We are still subject to the regulations of the Western Powers." "We still have to be considerate of the feelings of the Russians on the one hand - and the Americans on the other."	4	3
No opinion/No answer:	5	1
	19%@	11%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RADIO RATED MUCH MORE RELIABLE THAN NEWSPAPERS ...

An evaluation of the German press is given more meaning when its reliability is compared with radio news by the news consumer. Almost six out of ten Germans (who are both readers and listeners) would be more likely to believe the radio than the newspaper version of the news.

"If the radio news differs from what your newspaper reports, which would you be more apt to believe - the radio or the newspaper? (Asked only of radio listeners who read newspapers as well.)

	Feb 1952 (908)	May 1955 (1016)
Radio	59%	57%
Newspaper	14	10
They both lie	5	-
No opinion	22	33
	100%	100%

There are not any significant differences between subgroups. The greater belief in the radio is general throughout the population.

RADIO NEWSCASTS CONSIDERED MORE OBJECTIVE ...

Respondents, who believe the radio more than the press were asked why they would believe more in radio reports. Leading reasons given by radio listeners who read the press as well are a) that radio gets the news directly and first-hand, and b) a greater objectivity of newscasts.

"Why would you be more apt to believe the radio?"

	Radio listeners who read the newspaper as well
Because radio gets the news quickly and directly:	15%
"Radio gets the news first, and besides they are most accurate."	
"The information sources of the radio stations are more reliable than those of the newspapers."	
"Radio gets the news first-hand."	
"The latest news goes directly from the source to the broadcasting station, and is published unaltered, whereas newspapermen often do too much editing."	
"Because the news is directly transmitted to the radio."	
Because the radio news is more objective, it is not as contradictory as the news carried by the papers:	12
"The radio news is based on facts, whereas the newspapers are apt to embroider the facts."	
"Radio can't afford to offer sensational news."	
"In my experience newspapers often lie."	
"Newspapers assert something today, and tomorrow they tell us the contrary; the radio news is more trustworthy."	
"Paper doesn't blush."	
"Radio can't afford to broadcast false news since people from all over the world may listen to it."	

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	Radio listeners who read the newspaper as well
Because the radio news service is more official, it is more strictly supervised:	8%
"Because the radio news is of a more official character. Radio gets the latest news from the government and from the police, while the newspapers have to send out reporters in search of material, or they carry reports sent in by readers for a little extra income."	
"Because only official news is offered over the radio, as far as I know."	
"The radio news is checked by the government, I guess."	
"Supervision of radio stations is better organized than that of newspaper agencies."	
"Because there is a stricter censorship of radio programs."	
Because radio maintains an impartial attitude, and has no political party or ideological ties:	6
"As a rule, newspapers are linked with a political party, whereas radio is non-partisan."	
"Because radio is impartial."	
"Because radio shows an impartial attitude, while the newspapers depend on parties."	
"Because the radio is independent of political parties as well as of churches."	
Because I have greater confidence in the radio (no specific reasons):	4
"I simply trust the radio more than the newspapers."	
"Radio is more trustworthy than the newspapers."	
Because the radio news is terser and less exaggerated:	1
"Radio offers the news in a condensed form."	
"The news offered over the radio is brief and precise, while the newspapers sometimes have to add to the facts in order to fill up the columns."	
Other and general answers:	2
"There is more money available for information."	
"That all depends."	
No opinion/No answer:	11
	59%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ONLY SMALL MINORITY BELIEVES IN PRESS REPORTS ...

The 10% who think newspaper news more reliable often express the opinion that the printed word is more reliable than the spoken word because it can be checked by the news consumer. Others feel that the sources newspapers get their information from are more reliable. Comments in detail can be examined below.

"If the radio news differsfrom what your newspaper reports, which would you be more apt to believe - the radio or the newspaper?"

IF "The newspaper":
"Why would you be more apt to believe the newspaper?"

	Radio listeners who read the newspaper as well
Because the written word has greater weight, and can be checked more easily:	2%
"Written words weigh heavier than spoken phrases." "I accept at face value what I see in black and white." "Printed information is more likely to be correct than radio news."	
Because the sources newspapers get their information from are more reliable:	2
"I gather that the newspapers have more reporters to send all over the world." "Because the newspapers get more trustworthy information, and the editorial work is done very accurately."	
Because newspapers offer more comprehensive reports:	1
"Newspapers are in a position to carry all the details of an event, that means that press reports are more precise."	
Because the newspapers can express their opinions more freely:	1
"Because the newspapers enjoy freedom of expression." "Radio depends on its sponsors."	
Because I have greater confidence in the newspapers:	*
"Because I'm used to my paper, it has never disappointed me up till now."	
Other answers: "Radio takes over the news from the papers."	1
No opinion/No answer:	3
	10%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Section 2: Some German Views on What Newspapers Should and Do Print

WHILE RELATIVELY FEW READERS CONSIDER A PARTY PRESS A GOOD IDEA, A DECREASED PERCENTAGE NOW THINKS IT IS ACTUALLY BAD ...

Only about one out of ten newspaper readers considers the idea of newspapers representing a particular party or group to be good. On the other hand, while in 1952 more than half thought this a bad idea, only a third of the readers hold this view today. The number of those taking neither stand has increased from 10% to 37% over the last 3 years.

"Do you personally consider it good or bad if newspapers (would) represent the viewpoint of certain groups or parties?"

	West German Newspaper Readers	
	Feb 1952 (1024)	May 1955 (1116)
Good	17%	12%
Bad	53	33
Neither/nor	10	37
No opinion	20	18
	100%	100%

THOSE OBJECTING TO A PARTY PRESS STRESS NEED FOR OBJECTIVE REPORTING ...

Those who label the idea of a party press as bad are very likely to offer the following kinds of reasons (a) the press should be objective and independent, and (b) reporting would suffer from representing the opinion of a political party or other groups. These two kinds of comments are the predominant answers.

"Do you personally consider it good or bad if newspapers (would) represent the viewpoint of certain groups or parties?"

IF "Bad":
"And why do you consider it bad?"

	Newspaper Readers
The press should be independent and objective:	19%

"A newspaper should be neutral because there are other means available to people to form an opinion of their own with."
"Because they'd take a one-sided viewpoint then, and one wants objective reports on world happenings."
"You always get such one-sided information."
"They want to influence people by this method because in such a paper news will be tinged."
"An independent newspaper can report in a much more objective way."
"Because I don't want something tinged."
"Because I demand an objective way of reporting."
"They should report in accordance with truth."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Newspaper Readers
Because its reporting would suffer from it:	6%
"The political parties should keep out of the newspaper business as otherwise reports will be still more tinged than they already are."	
"A party-biased paper is something unsound."	
"They should never represent a certain party, but should give true reports of all parties."	
"There should be no party-political influence on newspapers."	
"Because then you would read the same tedious things in newspapers all the time."	
A newspaper should serve everybody and not only a certain group or party:	5
"A newspaper should be useful to everybody and not be influenced to voice a one-sided opinion."	
"Because newspapers should serve the common interest."	
"All people should get the same kind of information and information should be offered in the same manner to all."	
"A newspaper should provide such information as is useful and interesting for all groups and all social classes."	
The press should be a general information medium carrying no inflammatory material:	2
"What appears to be right for one person would seem to be wrong for another, I'm against all this bickering."	
"If they would represent the opinion of the CDU, I would say that it's all very well, but, as it is, these party-influenced papers only stir up people and create an unfriendly atmosphere."	
Other answers:	1
"They are against the military, as soon as they start reporting about it they also start agitating."	
No opinion/No answer:	*
	33%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

THOSE FAVORING A PARTY PRESS FEEL IT GIVES DIVERSE VIEWPOINTS AN OPPORTUNITY TO BE HEARD ...

Those who believe it all right that the press speaks for particular groups or parties say either that every party or group has to have a mouthpiece to present his own views through publication, or that the reader can inform himself better on the different viewpoints.

"Do you personally consider it good or bad if newspapers (would) represent the viewpoint of certain groups or parties?"

IF "Good":
"And why do you consider it good?"

	Newspaper Readers
A certain trend is unavoidable - every group or party has to have a mouthpiece:	4%
"You have to have a certain standpoint - of course a paper should not call itself independent in such a case, however."	
"Because such a thing as an absolutely independent viewpoint doesn't exist."	
"Any party must have the possibility to express its standpoint."	
In this way readers can inform themselves concerning different viewpoints:	3
"So that an individual reader can get informed about the various political opinions."	
"Sometimes it's good because you will then be informed about a certain group's opinion."	
"That helps you to determine the spirit that dominates a certain paper or party."	
Everybody likes to read a newspaper that advocates his own interests:	3
"Because you want to know as much as possible about things concerning your personal interests."	
"Because they represent a Christian viewpoint and take care of workers' problems."	
"If you're interested in a political party you want to read its organ."	
Other answers:	1
" A newspaper can develop freely."	
"They have to have somebody whom they can promote."	
No opinion/No answer:	1
	12%

SIX OUT OF TEN READERS DO NOT THINK THEIR NEWSPAPERS REPRESENT SPECIAL GROUPS OR PARTIES. . .

According to the respondents own definition of the political affiliation of their papers, one out of ten (12%) German readers believes that he reads newspapers published in the interest of CDU, and one out of fourteen (7%) says that the papers he reads are SPD-inclined. These are the two largest single blocs of party-paper readers.

The great majority (60%) answered that their newspapers did not represent the views of any particular party.

"Do you have the impression that (the) (one of the) newspaper(s) you are reading represents the viewpoint of a certain group or party or don't you have this impression? (IF "Yes": Which?)"

	West German Newspaper Readers	
	Feb 1952 (1024)	May 1955 (1116)
No, don't represent	65%	60%
Yes, CDU/CSU	11	12
Yes, SPD	7	7
Yes, others	6	5
No opinion	11	16
	100%	100%

READERS OF 'INDEPENDENT' PRESS MOST LIKELY TO BE 'CORRECT' IN THEIR DESIGNATION OF THE POLITICAL TONE OF THE PAPERS READ ...

As shown in Part A, Section 2 (on page 10) in this chapter a classification of the political affiliation or leaning of most papers published in Germany was developed for the purposes of this study together with USIS Press Branch. It is interesting to compare this political classification of the newspapers read with what the readers think is the political color of their newspapers. Three groups of newspapers have a sufficient number of readers in the sample for reliable analysis; these are the SPD, the CDU, and the "independent" newspapers. The following analysis will show the proportion of readers of each of these groups who believe them to be of the various political hues indicated or who think these publications have no particular point of view.

Almost half (47% of the SPD newspaper readers and three in ten (39%) of CDU publication readers think that their papers do not represent any group or party. These are clearly the people who are unaware that they are exposed to a newspaper which does express a particular point of view, however mildly. One third (34%) of the SPD readers and 37% CDU readers have an image of their newspapers' political color which corresponds with our classification.

Readers of "independent" papers are more nearly "correct" in naming the political tone of their newspapers; six out of ten of these (61%) think that these papers do not represent any political point of view.

It is obvious that, although there is a relatively high proportion of people who have either no opinion or believe that the party-paper they read has no political point of view, those who do attribute a party leaning to those papers are very likely to label them correctly, for none of the SPD paper readers say they represent the CDU, and only 1% of the CDU readers believe that those papers offer the SPD viewpoint.

READERS' DESIGNATION
OF POLITICAL AFFILIATION/LEANING OF THEIR PAPERS
VERSUS CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL TENDENCY@

	Classification of Political Affiliation of Newspapers		
	SPD (105)	CDU/CSU (140)	Independent (871)
Readers' Designation of Political Affiliation:			
SPD	34%	1%	4%
CDU/CSU	-	37	8
FDP	-	1	1
DP	-	-	1
KPD	-	-	-
Zentrum, BHE	-	-	*
Others	-	-	1
Several different newspapers	-	-	1
No opinion	19	22	16
Don't represent any	47	39	68
	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ See basis cited earlier.

WEST GERMANS EVENLY DIVIDED AS TO WHETHER PRESS TODAY CAN FREELY PUBLISH EVERYTHING ...

Equally as many Germans believe that newspapers today can freely publish what they wish as believe they cannot.

"Do you believe that the West German newspapers may publish everything they please, or are they restricted? (Severely restricted or only somewhat restricted?)"

	All West Germans (1251)
May publish everything	40%
Are severely/somewhat restricted	40
No opinion	20
	100%

GOVERNMENT CONTROL LEADING REASON ADVANCED FOR LIMITED FREEDOM OF PRESS ...

People expressing the view that the press today cannot freely publish were asked to give their reasons for this opinion. The influence of the government, the executive authority, and the still exerted influence of the occupation powers appeared as main reasons.

"In your opinion, why is it that the newspapers are (severely) (somewhat) restricted in their publications?" (Asked of those who answered "Severely" or "Somewhat restricted" to previous question.)

	All West Germans
Because of the influence government and executive authorities exert:	13%

"First of all our government is to blame since it doesn't want all things to be published, especially not those in which it takes an interest or which could be harmful to it in any way."
"Because of our government, it's a principle of long standing that the man in the street needn't know everything."
"Because of the internal security system of the government's security authorities."
"I believe the fault lies not only with the government, but also with the political parties."
"It's due to pressure brought to bear by the individual political parties and I think that they are government-controlled to a certain extent and can't just write whatever they like."

Because of the influence the occupation powers exert:	6

"We are an occupied country and the occupation powers are bound to see to it that our newspapers don't write too much about certain things."
"Because, according to laws issued by Military Government, certain news items mustn't be spread although they should actually be published."
"They are censored by American government authorities, for instance, if security problems are involved."
"Not everything concerning politics may be published. The occupation powers would not allow it."
"Because the victorious powers also have a say in this matter."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) All West Germans

Because the press is never quite free and independent in reporting: 6%

"Because most papers depend on some group or party."
"Because there's still a kind of censorship, I believe, they can't report as and what they like."
"They can't publish everything, at least they can't describe things as they really are. Apart from that, I believe that we have freedom of the press."
"Because someone's interests may be involved."

Out of consideration for the political situation and for foreign nations (especially the occupation powers): 5

"As to politics, secret treaties mustn't be published."
"For reasons concerning foreign nations, our prestige has to be maintained."
"There are certain things which are not to be spread far and wide, out of consideration for foreign states."
"Newspapers have to take into consideration that there are four occupation powers in Germany, and we have to be careful not to make any faux-pas, because the slightest incident in this respect would be used by the foreigners to make trouble for us."

Out of consideration for the feelings of readers, and in order to maintain peace and quiet among the people: 3

"In spite of the freedom guaranteed to the press they are dependent on their readers, that's why they have to be careful."
"They cannot afford to hurt their readers' political feelings."
"There are a lot of things they have to keep quiet about. If they wouldn't do that, people would get perturbed and there would be trouble."

Because the press fears court actions and bans: 2

"They wouldn't dare to do so because they might be banned or confiscated."
"Editors would not risk it because they might get fined."
"They would risk being banned."

I just believe it is so: 2

"I suppose it's like this."
"I think thta it is the same everywhere, that newspapers can't report as they like."

Because the press is dependent on its backers: 1

"The press is kept in check by big capital."
"Newspapers are not free because their backers meddle in everything and censor or correct reports."
"I said so already, they are hampered by capitalistic interests."

Because of the limited possibilities for the press to obtain information: *

"The press isn't admitted to certain conferences."
"Because you hear time and again that certain information items are withheld from the press."
"The press was not admitted, but I can't tell you when this happened."

Other answers: 1

"Because they've a sense of responsibility."
"That's an order by the newspaper corporation, there are restrictions of some sort."

No opinion/No answer: 3

42%©

* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS MORE LIKELY TO CONSIDER PRESS RESTRICTED ...

Again, the men, the well educated, the higher income groups, the politically more active and upper-class people differ significantly from their counterparts, since they are less likely to believe that the press is free and are much more likely to hold the view that the present day newspapers are somewhat restricted in what they may publish.

Among the political party adherents CDU sympathizers are the only group where the majority thinks that newspapers may publish everything at the present time.

Catholics are more likely to say that the press is free while Protestants are more suspicious.

"Do you believe that the West German newspapers may publish everything they please, or are they restricted? (Severely restricted or only somewhat restricted?"

	May publish everything	Are severely/ somewhat restricted	No opinion	No. of cases
West Germans Generally	40%	40%	20%...100%	1251
Sex:				
Men	41	45	14	534
Women	40	35	25	717
Education:				
Elementary school	40	38	22	1035
Beyond elementary	43	48	9	216
Income:				
Up to 149 DM	40	29	31	149
150 to 299 DM	39	35	26	327
300 to 399 DM	41	41	18	260
400 to 499 DM	44	46	10	156
500 DM and more	43	49	8	247
No answer	30	40	30	112
Opinion Leadership Scale@:				
Very active	37	57	6	82
Somewhat active	35	50	15	321
Remainder	43	34	23	848
Socio-Economic Status:				
Upper classes	38	53	9	34
Middle classes	42	45	13	595
Lower classes	39	34	27	622
Age:				
18 to 24 years	40	47	13	118
25 to 34 years	46	37	17	257
35 to 44 years	41	42	17	266
45 to 54 years	37	42	21	273
55 years and over	38	36	26	337
Party Preference:				
SPD	37	48	15	227
CDU/CSU	52	35	13	314
FDP	40	52	8	50
Other parties	32	50	18	66
No party	32	47	21	295
No party preference stated	41	27	32	299

(Cont'd on next page)

@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	May publish everything	Are severely/ somewhat restricted	No opinion	No. of cases
Occupation:				
Professionals	51%	44%	5%...100%	39
Businessmen	36	49	15	78
White-collar workers	44	48	8	137
Skilled laborers	43	42	15	132
Semi-skilled laborers	39	43	18	137
Domestic service	33	46	21	39
Farmers, farmhands	39	42	19	86
Housewives	40	36	24	423
Pensioners; retired	38	31	31	180
Religion:				
Catholics	43	35	22	580
Protestants	39	43	18	625
Others	47	40	13	15
No religion	23	51	26	31
Origin:				
Natives	40	41	19	986
Expellees, refugees	43	34	23	265
City Size:				
Up to 1,999	35	37	28	394
2,000 to 24,999	44	38	18	380
25,000 to 99,999	32	48	20	114
100,000 and over	45	41	14	363
Land:				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	34	47	19	105
Lower Saxony	38	35	27	179
North Rhine/Westphalia	50	37	13	333
Hesse	43	38	19	109
Rhineland/Palatinate	38	40	22	82
Wuerttemberg/Baden	34	43	23	211
Bavaria	37	41	22	232

PRESENT-DAY NEWSPAPERS RATED HIGHER ON OVERALL EVALUATION BY THOSE BELIEVING IN FREEDOM OF PRESS ...

Belief in freedom of the press has a bearing on overall evaluation of the press. More people who hold the view that the press is not restrained give the newspapers a favorable rating than is true for people who think the press is restricted (57% rate the press "good" in the first group, as against 47% in the latter).

"Do you believe that the West German newspapers may publish everything they please, or are they restricted? (Severely restricted or only somewhat restricted?)"

	May publish everything	Restricted	No opinion
	(454)	(474)	(188)
Respondent's Overall Evaluation of Press:			
Good	57%	47%	42%
Fair/bad	33	44	29
No opinion/No answer	10	9	29
	100%	100%	100%

LARGE MAJORITY OF GERMANS FAVOR THE VIEW THAT NEWSPAPERS SHOULD EXPOSE CORRUPTION EVEN AT RISK OF HARMING GOVERNMENT REPUTATION ...

Only a minority (15%) feel the press should not publish corruption, but more than six in ten (64%) would like the press to attack and expose corruption of all kinds, despite any possible damage to the government's reputation. This crusading zeal is slightly less than was found in 1952, when 70% gave such an answer.

"Two persons are talking about the task of the newspapers in West Germany. With whom would you agree?

Herr Mueller: The newspapers should not expose corruption if the reputation of the government is harmed by it.

Herr Schulze: The newspapers should attack and expose corruption of all kinds even if the reputation of the government is harmed by it."

	West Germany	
	Feb 1952 (1198)	May 1955 (1251)
Herr Mueller	16%	15%
Herr Schulze	70	64
I don't care	8	14
No opinion	6	7
	100%	100%

In the analysis of the different population group breaks the opinion-leading elements again, (people with more than average schooling, higher incomes and active in organizations) favor allowing the press to publish corruption despite any possible harm of the government.

About twice as many people favoring the government coalition parties (CDU and FDP followers) as SPD adherents say that the press should not publish information injurious to the government's reputation.

"Two persons are talking about the task of the newspapers in West Germany. With whom would you agree?

Herr Mueller: The newspapers should not expose corruption if the reputation of the government is harmed by it.

Herr Schulze: The newspapers should attack and expose corruption of all kinds even if the reputation of the government is harmed by it."

	Herr Mueller	Herr Schulze	I don't care	No opinion	No. of cases
West Germans Generally	15%	64%	14%	7%...100%	1251
Sex:					
Men	15	71	9	5	534
Women	16	58	17	9	717
Education:					
Elementary school	14	63	15	8	1035
Beyond elementary	16	72	8	4	216
Income:					
Up to 149 DM	17	41	27	15	149
150 to 299 DM	17	61	16	6	327
300 to 399 DM	14	68	10	8	260
400 to 499 DM	12	74	11	3	156
500 DM and more	17	75	5	3	247
No answer	12	54	20	14	112
Opinion Leadership Scale:@					
Very active	22	77	1	-	82
Somewhat active	16	70	7	7	321
Remainder	15	60	17	8	848
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	20	65	15	-	34
Middle classes	15	70	9	6	595
Lower classes	16	58	18	8	622
Age:					
18 to 24 years	16	67	11	6	118
25 to 34 years	15	70	10	5	257
35 to 44 years	13	70	11	6	266
45 to 54 years	13	60	18	9	273
55 years and over	18	57	16	9	337
Party Preference:					
SPD	10	80	8	2	227
CDU/CSU	24	66	7	3	314
FDP	26	70	4	-	50
Other parties	14	65	12	9	66
No party	12	60	20	8	295
No party preference stated	12	52	20	16	299

(Cont'd on next page)

@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Herr Mueller	Herr Schulze	I don't care	No opinion	No. of cases
Occupation:					
Professionals	8%	74%	15%	3%...100%	39
Businessmen	14	69	9	8	78
White-collar workers	18	73	4	5	137
Skilled laborers	13	72	10	5	132
Semi-skilled laborers	9	66	15	10	137
Domestic service	20	62	13	5	39
Farmers, farmhands	20	60	15	5	86
Housewives	16	60	16	8	423
Pensioners; retired	17	55	17	11	180
Religion:					
Catholics	17	62	15	6	580
Protestants	15	65	13	7	625
Others	-	80	7	13	15
No religion	13	71	-	16	31
Origin:					
Natives	15	65	13	7	986
Expellees; refugees	18	59	14	9	265
City Size:					
Up 1,999	15	60	17	8	394
2,000 to 24,999	18	61	13	8	380
25,000 to 99,999	9	69	12	10	114
100,000 and over	15	69	11	5	363
Land:					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	23	64	11	2	105
Lower Saxony	11	57	16	16	179
North Rhine/Westphalia	17	66	12	5	333
Hesse	17	66	10	7	109
Rhineland/Palatinate	16	62	16	6	82
Wuerttemberg/Baden	10	65	15	10	211
Bavaria	17	66	14	3	232

MORE OF THE SERIOUS-CONTENT READERS THAN OF THE LIGHT CONTENT NEWSPAPER READERS PERMIT ATTACKS ON CORRUPTION ...

Readers who look at their newspapers regularly for political-economic news and/or editorials are more likely than light-content readers to insist that corruption be published.

Should newspapers publish corruption?
(Analyzed according to content of newspaper reading)

	Readers of mostly serious content		Light content readers		Readers of some serious content		Non-newspaper readers	
	52 (448)	55 (463)	52 (122)	55 (150)	52 (454)	55 (503)	52 (174)	55 (135)
Should not publish corruption	15%	17%	20%	18%	16%	14%	12%	13%
Should publish corruption	80	75	65	63	69	59	51	42
Don't care	3	4	12	14	9	17	21	32
No opinion	2	4	3	5	6	10	16	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

SHOULD AND COULD CORRUPTION BE EXPOSED? ...

Another cross-break analysis was made on people's attitudes as to whether or not corruption should be exposed with their opinions as to whether or not the press could freely publish everything.

One third of the Germans (33%) are satisfied with the present situation (whatever they believe to be the case, i.e. they either think the press should and could publish everything - 26% - or feel that the papers should not publish corruption and that the press is actually restricted from doing so - 7%).

Another 37% seem to be dissatisfied because they either hold the view that the present day press should publish corruption, but is not allowed to do so - 30% - or think the papers should not be permitted to attack on corruption but could actually do so - 7%.

RESPONDENTS' OPINION AS TO WHETHER PRESS CAN PUBLISH EVERYTHING COMBINED WITH WHETHER PRESS SHOULD PUBLISH CORRUPTION

	West Germany (1251)	
Satisfied:		
Should publish corruption and could publish everything	26%	33%
Should not publish corruption and is restricted	7	
Dissatisfied:		
Should publish corruption, but is restricted	30	37%
Should not publish corruption, but could publish everything	7	
Indifferent:		30
		100%

ABOUT HALF OF THE WEST GERMANS FAVOR REPORTS OF REPROACHES AGAINST ADENAUER THROUGH PRESS AND RADIO AS WELL ...

Fifty-one per cent favored having the press report unfavorable remarks or reproaches against Chancellor Adenauer and 48% would favor the same being done by the radio; only a minority would object. But almost four out of ten Germans are undecided or indifferent on this issue (36% for the press and 39% for radio).

"During the Bundestag debates on the Paris Accords some remarks were made which represented reproaches against Chancellor Adenauer. In your opinion, should the newspapers report this, or not?
And should, in your opinion, the radio report it, or not?"

	West Germany 1955 (1251)	
	Press	Radio
Yes, report it	51%	48%
No, not report	13	13
I don't care	21	22
No opinion	15	17
	100%	100%

THOSE WHO FAVOR REPORTING CRITICISM SAY IT IS IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST ...

About two out of five Germans (who believe press and radio should report reproaches against Adenauer) say that the public should be truthfully and comprehensively informed about political developments. In addition, one in ten emphasize the right of the public in a democracy to get insight into the work and conduct of government officials.

"During the Bundestag debates on the Paris Accords some remarks were made which represented reproaches against Chancellor Adenauer. In your opinion, should the newspapers report this, or not?
And, in your opinion, should the radio report it, or not?"

IF "Yes, report it":
"Why should the newspapers (the radio report it?"

	West Germany	
	Press	Radio
Because the public should be truthfully and comprehensively informed about political developments:	20%	19%

"After having been led by the nose once, we want to be told the plain truth now."
"Newspaper readers should be kept informed on all political developments. If I'd ever find out that the paper I read had kept back such a news item, I would cancel my subscription. I want to be in a position to form an accurate idea of such debates."
"People must be informed so that they can form an opinion of how things stand. Everybody is interested in these matters."
"The newspapers should carry everything that may be of interest to the public. I don't see any reason for keeping something like that back."

(Cont'd on next page)

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	West Germany	
	Press	Radio

"We want to know the truth."
"Whatever Adenauer does concerns us. After all, we must know what he is planning to do with us."
"Because people are interested in learning about everything."
"The public must always be told what happens during public debates."

Because in a democracy the public has the right to get an insight into the work and conduct of government officials: 11% 7%

"It's the right thing to do in a democracy to inform the public candidly and explicitly on the goings-on."
"The members of the government must well realize that they are under constant control and thus cannot do just what they please. After all, this isn't a dictatorship with only democratic trappings."
"Even if the attacks on the Chancellor were overly vehement, it's part of the democratic system to report on all developments. We haven't got freedom of the press for nothing. You may utter reproaches against anybody provided what you say is true."
"There is no coercion any more as there used to be under the Hitler regime. The way things are handled now is preferable."
"No exception should be made for him, we have already seen once where idolization can lead to."
"According to the basic law every person, no matter what his position is, may be held responsible for his actions and must justify himself."

Because the reproaches against the Chancellor are not unfounded: 5 2

"The Chancellor is no angel, either, after all. He will only profit if his actions are criticized."
"Because in some instances he acted in a rather high-handed manner without informing the others about his intentions. The fact is that Adenauer has gone too far selling himself to one political party, and the newspapers may well report that. Such a personality should be more non-partisan."
"Adenauer is not always 100 per cent right. Even he may err."
"The public should know what Adenauer's aims are. There probably is some truth in these reproaches."
"Even Adenauer is fallible. Even he makes mistakes."
"Our Chancellor is not the perfect atatesman, and many times reproaches are justified and must not be hushed up. Personally, I don't think that our government is capable of adopting a sound policy, only perhaps, of putting over profitable deals. That's why nothing should be kept back from the public, even if it is an unfavorable report on Adenauer."

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	West Germany	
	Press	Radio
Because Dr. Adenauer's prestige is not seriously weakened by such attacks:	3%	2%
"It doesn't jeopardize his prestige if occasionally something unfavorable is published."		
"The Chancellor won't be the worse for it."		
"I'm sure that he will be able to defend himself. The voice of the opposition must be heard, too. If these reproaches are justified, let the Chancellor defend himself, and if not, the Chancellor will vindicate himself."		
"It doesn't impair the Chancellor's prestige. The Chancellor can take criticism very well, he only smiles. Frankness is necessary, and it doesn't impair anybody's prestige."		
"He can defend himself. It happened more than once that an accusation wasn't true."		
Because it is impossible to suppress truth in the long run:	3	1
"A thing like that will leak out anyway, therefore it's better to tell the story as it really happened."		
"They should tell the truth, for I'm sure the newspapers abroad would report on reproaches which have been made. Foreign journalists cover the Bundestag sessions, too, therefore a thing like that can never be hushed up."		
"The public must be informed, you will never succeed in suppressing these things and the distrust people already feel will only be intensified."		
"If our radio would not report it, foreign stations would promptly do it."		
Because even the Chancellor may be criticized and called to account:	2	2
"Even Adenauer in his capacity as Chancellor may be criticized, so that one may examine whether or not these allegations are true. Of course, the whole story should be told."		
"He shouldn't be spared, for we have all seen what the idolization of a person may lead to."		
"No exception should be made for him. We have already seen once where idolization can lead to."		
"According to the basic law every person, no matter what his position is, may be held responsible for his actions and must justify himself."		
Because newspapers are the information media that is most easily accessible to the public:	2	-
"Because the press reaches a greater number of people than any other information medium."		
"Because those who miss a news item over the radio are able to read it in the papers later on."		
Because radio is above party politics and must present the facts objectively:	-	5
"On no account must radio be connected with any political party."		
"Radio should be independent and broadcast everything, although this might not be too pleasant for some gentlemen."		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	West Germany Press	Radio
Because it is the task of radio to inform its listeners about current events:	-%	4%
"That is part of its functions. Otherwise the press would inform the public and radio cannot afford to be overrun by its competitors." "The radio must report everything. What would be the use of paying our 2 DM (radio fee) otherwise." "If the newspapers report it, radio can do the same, equal rights for all."		
Because some people depend entirely on radio as an information medium:	-	2
"People who have no time for newspaper reading would also get some information." "Radio helps me to be always well informed, while it takes time to read the newspaper."		
Other answers:	5	4
"I believe that things which are detrimental to some person or other won't be printed anyway." "Everybody is free to think what he pleases." "If the reproaches are just, then they should print them, otherwise the party who uttered them should publicly apologize." "I like to read those reproaches." "Radio reports things earlier, so that something can be done about it." "Because, as a rule, you can judge by the tone in which such reproaches are made whether they are true or not." "Because in that way a fresh impetus is given to the work of both sides."		
No opinion/No answer:	1 52%@	2 50%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

THOSE WANTING SUPPRESSION OF REPROACHES AGAINST ADENAUER FEEL THAT THESE REPROACHES ARE UNDESERVED ...

As leading reasons for the desire to suppress publication of reproaches against Adenauer the following were given: a) reproaches against the chancellor are undeserved, b) the public need not know everything,and c) Germany's prestige in the world would be weakened.

"During the Bundestag debates on the Paris Accords some remarks were made which represented reproaches against Chancellor Adenauer. In your opinion, should the newspapers report this, or not? (And should the radio report it?)"

IF "No, should not report it":
"Why should the newspapers (radio) not report it?"

	Press	Radio
Because the reproaches against the Chancellor are undeserved:	4%	5%
"I am of the opinion that the Chancellor acts to the best of his knowledge and belief, and therefore reproaches and insults shouldn't be hurled at him."		
"Adenauer has a very good record and therefore the reproaches are undeserved."		
"That man does his utmost, and that's why people shouldn't criticize him. In view of his age it's not fitting."		
"Let the guy take over who thinks he can handle things more capably."		
"After all his achievements Adenauer has not deserved the reproaches."		
"Because Dr. Adenauer deserves respect, especially for the reconstruction of West Germany which is his achievement."		
Because the public need not know everything:	3	3
"The mass of common people should not learn of such incidents. They are too stupid and politically immature."		
"That's not everybody's business."		
"The parties involved should settle such a thing without outside interference. The masses too often get false ideas of such a dispute."		
"That isn't right, these matters are not for the ears of everybody."		
"To avoid that such dirty linen is washed before the public."		
Because Germany's prestige in the world would be weakened:	2	2
"Because our prestige would be lowered in the eyes of the world."		
"Dr. Adenauer is the head of the government and thus for reasons of prestige such reproaches must not appear in the papers. Not only Dr. Adenauer, but also we as a nation would lose in esteem and respect in the eyes of the world."		
"One should not discredit the Chancellor too much because it will affect our prestige abroad."		

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	Press	Radio
Because the people might become perturbed and stirred up:	2%	2%
"The political passions latent in the people will only be aroused."		
"It only will lead to quarreling. There are several political parties represented in the Bundestag, after all, let them settle such a thing among themselves."		
"Because there is no sense in alarming people with things which only arouse angry feelings."		
"No good will come of it, it only causes disturbances."		
Because the debates were undisciplined:	1	1
"Some people went too far in attacking their opponents."		
"To utter reproaches in such a tone is a reprehensible thing to do. It must be seen to that such incidents won't occur again."		
"These attacks went too far. In view of the dignity of the Bundestag such things should not happen."		
"Reproaches expressed in such language are objectionable. They should be suppressed."		
Other answers:	1	1
"Because nothing comes of it."		
"Because we heard the whole debate over the radio, therefore the press needn't report on it, too."		
"Because it will lead nowhere, that's what's worrying me."		
"People who hold a job can't always listen to the radio when the news is broadcast."		
No opinion/No answer:	*	1
	13%	15%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

A MAJORITY FAVOR REPORTING REPROACHES AGAINST THE WESTERN POWERS ...

Only a negligeable minority (10%) do not want reports published which are against the Western Powers, but a clear majority (55%) are for the publication of such reports. The figures for press and radio are almost identical.

"During the Bundestag debates on the Paris Accords some remarks were made which represented reproaches against the Western Powers. In your opinion, should the newspapers report this, or not?
And should, in your opinion, the radio report it, or not?"

	West Germany	
	Press	Radio
Yes, report it	56%	55%
No, not report	10	10
I don't care	20	21
No opinion	14	14
	100%	100%

"DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS" AND "INTEREST IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS" PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZED AMONG REASONS FOR THE DESIRE TO PUBLICIZE ADVERSE REPORTS ABOUT WESTERN POWERS ...

People reporting the view that press and radio should report adverse things or reproaches against the Western Powers gave largely the same reasons for their opinion as given by those who held the same view on publicizing unfavorable remarks or reproaches against Adenauer. They are mainly concerned with truthful information about political developments and democratic rights.

One might note, however, that considerably more people insist upon these democratic interests and rights when it comes to unfavorable publications about the Western Powers than do so in respect to the same kind of reports about Adenauer.

"Why should the newspapers (radio) report it?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes, report it" to above question.)

	West Germany	
	Press	Radio
Because the public should be informed truthfully and comprehensively about the political developments:	32%	26%

"Because the public ought to know the unadulterated truth about what is going on on the political scene."
"So that people get to know what it is all about, and how things are going."
"Because we are interested in such things, we want to know what they intend to do with Germany, after all."
"In order to awaken everybody, and to enlighten people so that they know what is at stake at elections."
"In this way the mistakes of the Western Powers become public."
"People should be told everything. This includes things which aren't too pleasant for the Western Powers."
"So that we know what differences must still be straightened out between us and the Western Powers."
"So that we are able to form a correct picture of what is really going on in Germany."

(Cont'd on next page)

	West Germany	
	Press	Radio
Because in a democracy the public has the right to get an insight into the work and the conduct of officials:	15%	10%
"As we live in a democracy, people are entitled to get informed about everything."		
"We have to be informed on everything that happens during a Bundestag debate in order to be on the ball all the time."		
"There is no room for secrets in a democratic state."		
"So that everybody knows what our government and the Western Powers are doing."		
"Well, the Bundestag represents the people and whatever is said there should be for everybody to hear - that is democracy."		
"The people who constitute our government feel too smug in their offices and do what they consider to be right without bothering to ask the people. This should be prevented by a prompt news service over the radio."		
Because it is impossible to suppress the truth in the long run:	3	2
"One shouldn't try to conceal anything, it will become known in some way or other sooner or later."		
"It's better to learn the whole truth right away, or we risk its getting distorted later on."		
"One should not conceal the truth because people are bound to find out afterwards."		
"Because the radio stations of the others will report such things anyhow."		
Because some people depend entirely on newspapers (respectively on radio) as an information medium:	2	4
"Not everybody can learn it over the radio. There are even some people who don't have a set."		
"So that people who do not read the papers also know what is going on."		
"Because most people don't have enough time to read the papers."		
"Because I only listen to the radio."		
Because it is the task of the press (and the radio) to inform the readers (listeners) of current events:	2	3
"The task of the press is to inform and to enlighten people."		
"It is the duty of the newspapers to offer as detailed information as possible."		
"Just as with the newspapers, it's radio's mission to keep us informed on all these matters."		
"Radio is there to report on everything."		
Because such reports contribute towards eliminating abuses:	*	-
"The fact that the people's attention is focused on some very real grievances might lead to removing them."		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	West Germany Press	Radio
Because press and radio must report impartially and objectively:	*%	6%
"The newspapers must give objective information." "Because it is impossible for the radio to conceal anything in live broadcasts." "Through radio a certain measure of objectivity is reached." "You listen to the original."		
Because such broadcasts contribute towards eliminating abuses:	-	2
"Because attention can be called to abuses which then may be remedied by the nations concerned." "Why shouldn't they? It is easy then to straighten out any knots in our relations with the Western Powers."		
Other answers:	2	2
"It's all right provided the reproaches are just and presented in a moderate tone." "Such things should be published, but in such a way that people won't get excited about it." "It should be reported but slightly modified - chance remarks should be omitted."		
No opinion/No answer:	1	1
	57%@	56%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

THOSE WANTING NO PUBLICATION OF ADVERSE REPORTS AGAINST THE WESTERN POWERS FEAR GERMANY'S PRESTIGE WOULD BE WEAKENED AND THE GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE WEST WOULD BE UNFAVORABLY AFFECTED ...

"During the Bundestag debates on the Paris Accords some remarks were made which represent reproaches against the Western Powers. In your opinion, should the newspapers report this, or not? (And should the radio report it, or not?"

IF "No, should not report it":
"Why should the newspapers (radio) not report it?"

	Press	Radio
Because Germany's prestige in the world would be weakened, and our good relations with the West would be unfavorably affected:	4%	3%
"Germany's reputation would be impaired." "In order to prevent misapprehensions between us and the Western Powers." "We depend on the Western Powers, after all, such behavior would do us some harm." "This hostile attitude toward the West will not benefit us. The opinion foreign countries have of Germany will again change for the worse."		
Because the public need not know everything:	3	2
"There is no need for the public to be told everything that happens." "Such things do interest politicians, but they are not meant for the masses who lack political maturity." "The people mustn't be burdened with unnecessary things." "It is of interest for politicians only and not intended for the general public. There are so many things the public doesn't understand."		
Because the people might become perturbed and stirred up:	2	2
"It might arouse angry feelings and resentment against the present status of peace." "There will be no peace in the world as long as agitation is stirred." "Because there is no sense in alarming people with things which only arouse ill feeling." "Unrest among our people would only increase."		
Because the East may derive profit from it:	*	*
"Because thus the Russians would learn it and use it against the West." "Because the East bloc countries hear it and can use it for propaganda purposes."		
Other and general answers:	1	2
"It would be tactless and senseless." "Because the Western Powers are right." "The radio stations should limit themselves to the most important news."		
No opinion/No answer:	*	1
	10%	10%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

NO MAJORITY SUPPORT INDICATED FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS ...

The reader will probably have realized that the questions as to newspaper and radio publication of governmental corruption and of adverse reports or reproaches against Adenauer and the Western Powers are in fact indices of people's attitudes on freedom of the press. People who really believe in freedom of the press would support publication under all three circumstances however much they might regret the possible damage to official or national reputation. Those who give positive support to publication in only one or two cases are obviously departing from the principle of freedom of the press in exhibiting a willingness to compromise in particular instances.

Joint tabulations reveal the following pattern of replies in the present connection. The figures make it clear that only about four out of ten West Germans would pass these three specific "tests" of press freedom, and hence could qualify as probable supporters of freedom of press.

	West Germany (1251)
A - Those who support press freedom in all three cases	39%
B - Those who support press freedom in only two cases	16
C - Those who support press freedom in only one case	20
D - Those who do not support press freedom in any of the test cases, including the undecided and indifferent	25
	100%

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS HIGHEST AMONG OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS ...

The men, the better educated, the higher income groups, higher socio-economic groups and politically more active groups of the population have the largest percentages supporting press freedom. Also, the younger age groups indicate a greater desire for press freedom than do the older.

Interesting to note is the definite relationship between the expressed political party preferences of people and their feeling toward limitation of press freedom. SPD supporters are much more likely to favor freedom of the press than are CDU-inclined people.

	A	B	C	D		No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	48%	15%	19%	18%	..100%	534
Women	33	16	20	31		717
Education:						
Elementary school	36	15	21	28		1035
Beyond elementary	51	21	16	12		216

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	A	B	C	D	No. of cases
Income:					
Up to 149 DM	27%	10%	17%	46%..100%	149
150 to 299 DM	32	15	23	30	327
300 to 399 DM	43	14	23	20	260
400 to 499 DM	48	16	18	18	156
500 DM and more	52	22	13	13	247
No answer	30	15	24	31	112
Opinion Leadership Scale@:					
Very active	56	22	16	6	82
Somewhat active	44	18	18	20	321
Remainder	36	14	20	30	848
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	54	9	14	23	34
Middle classes	43	20	19	18	595
Lower classes	35	12	21	32	622
Age:					
18 to 24 years	41	20	21	18	118
25 to 34 years	46	16	20	18	257
35 to 44 years	43	21	17	19	266
45 to 54 years	37	12	19	32	273
55 years and over	33	12	22	33	337
Party Preference:					
SPD	54	17	18	11	227
CDU/CSU	34	23	25	18	314
FDP	51	14	23	12	50
Other parties	50	10	17	23	66
No party	35	13	20	32	295
No party preference stated	29	13	19	39	299
Religion:					
Catholics	36	16	21	27	580
Protestants	41	15	19	25	625
Others	53	13	14	20	15
No religion	58	12	18	12	31

@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

HOW DO GERMANS THINK THE PRESS PORTRAYS THE AMERICANS AND THEIR MEASURES IN GERMANY? ...

It is apparent from the previous analysis that some Germans think freedom of press is limited because of the influence the occupation powers still exert. It is also interesting to learn what kind of picture - favorable or unfavorable, true or not true - the newspapers are thought to give of the Americans and their measures.

PREPONDERANT OPINION HOLDS THAT THE GERMAN NEWSPAPERS GIVE A FAVORABLE (BUT ACCURATE) PICTURE OF THE AMERICANS AND THEIR ACTIONS HERE ...

While only 2% think the press treatment of the Americans and their program in West Germany is unfavorable, the preponderance (43%) feels that the press gives a favorable picture. This percentage is a significant increase since 1952 in the group which feels the papers are favorable to the Americans. Those who believe the press picture is to be either favorable or unfavorable toward the Americans were asked whether or not the picture is true. Most of those say that what the newspapers print about the Americans and their German policies is true and only less than a quarter of them believe it to be untrue.

"In your opinion, do the newspapers in general give a favorable or unfavorable picture of the Americans and their measures in West Germany?"

	West Germany	
	1952 (1198)	1955 (1251)
Favorable picture	37%	43%
Unfavorable picture	5	2
Neither/nor	16	22
No opinion/No answer	28	22
Don't read newspapers	14	11
	100%	100%

IF "Favorable picture" or "Unfavorable picture":
"In your opinion, is it a true picture or not?"

True	24%	28%
Not true	11	9
No opinion	7	8
	42%	45%

OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS HAVE HIGHEST PROPORTIONS VIEWING FAVORABLE PICTURE OF AMERICANS AS TRUE ONE ...

The politically interested, the upper-class people, the better educated, and the men show the highest proportion viewing favorable picture of Americans as true one.

A distinct difference appears between SPD and CDU inclined respondents. CDU supporters are higher in this regard while SPD supporters are lower.

"In your opinion, do the newspapers in general give a favorable or unfavorable picture of the Americans and their measures in West Germany?"

IF "Favorable picture" or "Unfavorable picture":
"In your opinion, is it a true picture or not?"

	Favorable picture			Unfavorable picture					
	True	Not true	No opinion	True	Not true	No opinion	Neither/ nor	No opinion	No. of cases
All Newspaper Readers	30%	11%	7%	1%	*%	1%	24%	26%...100%	1116
Sex:									
Men	34	13	7	2	*	*	28	16	494
Women	28	8	8	1	*	*	21	34	622
Education:									
Elementary school	29	10	7	1	*	*	25	28	906
Beyond elem.	38	14	10	2	1	*	23	12	210
Income:									
Up to 149 DM	23	9	4	-	-	1	19	44	113
150 to 299 DM	31	7	8	1	-	*	21	32	285
300 to 399 DM	27	11	7	*	-	-	32	23	234
400 to 499 DM	34	10	5	3	1	-	28	19	146
500 DM and more	39	15	10	2	*	*	23	11	236
No answer	18	12	8	-	-	1	20	41	102
Opinion Leadership Scale:@									
Very active	39	13	13	1	1	-	22	11	77
Somewhat active	30	16	5	2	-	1	27	19	299
Remainder	30	8	8	1	*	*	23	30	740
Socio-Economic Status:									
Upper classes	38	12	6	3	-	-	23	18	34
Middle classes	34	12	9	1	*	*	23	21	549
Lower classes	27	9	6	1	*	*	26	31	533
Age:									
18 to 24 years	31	9	7	1	1	-	24	27	109
25 to 34 years	34	12	8	2	-	-	22	22	235
35 to 44 years	32	11	9	*	*	*	26	22	232
45 to 54 years	28	10	8	1	*	*	25	28	237
55 years and over	28	10	6	2	-	1	24	29	303
Party Preference:									
SPD	28	18	9	3	-	1	24	17	212
CDU/CSU	42	6	7	1	1	-	23	20	286
FDP	39	16	10	2	-	-	19	14	49
Other parties	37	9	7	-	-	-	27	20	55
No party	26	11	7	1	-	-	29	26	264
No party preference stated	20	8	6	*	-	1	22	43	250

(Cont'd on next page)

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Favorable picture			Unfavorable picture					
	True	Not true	No opinion	True	Not true	No opinion	Neither/ nor	No opinion	No. of cases
Occupation:									
Professionals	31%	8%	10%	-%	-%	3%	30%	18%...100%	39
Businessmen	38	16	9	1	-	-	17	19	75
White-collar workers	35	14	6	2	2	-	27	14	132
Skilled laborers	33	13	6	2	1	-	30	15	120
Semi-skilled laborers	26	9	8	1	-	1	29	26	117
Domestic service	21	12	6	3	-	-	23	35	34
Farmers, farmhands	37	5	1	-	-	-	24	33	79
Housewives	29	8	9	1	-	1	22	30	369
Pensioners; ret.	27	12	8	2	-	-	20	31	151
Religion:									
Catholics	30	9	6	2	1	1	25	26	512
Protestants	31	10	9	1	-	*	24	25	562
Others	33	13	-	7	-	-	20	27	15
No religion	26	26	18	-	-	-	19	11	27
Origin:									
Natives	30	11	7	1	*	1	24	26	890
Expellees; refug.	32	8	9	1	*	-	25	25	226
City Size:									
Up to 1,999	28	6	7	*	*	-	24	35	335
2,000 to 24,999	31	8	8	2	-	*	27	24	343
25,000 to 99,999	20	15	7	2	1	*	29	26	94
100,000 and over	34	15	8	1	1	1	21	19	344
Land:									
Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	29	11	16	-	-	-	18	26	102
Lower Saxony	21	9	10	2	-	-	22	36	164
North Rhine/ Westphalia	32	11	6	3	-	-	26	22	296
Hesse	25	12	5	-	-	2	41	15	85
Rhineland/Palatinate	22	9	4	3	-	-	28	34	68
Wuerttemberg/ Baden	35	13	10	-	1	-	18	23	185
Bavaria	34	9	4	-	1	1	25	26	216

ALMOST THREE QUARTERS OF THE OPINIATED PEOPLE INDICATE ADOPTION OF PRO-AMERICAN VIEWPOINT ...

Of greater interest is the cross-break which includes the respondents' double assessment, i.e. of the direction of the press portrayal of Americans - whether favorable or unfavorable - and whether they believe the portrayal to be true or false.

Of those who made a double asessment more than seven in ten (72%) showed a pro-American point of view - ten per cent more than held that view in 1952; the others can be considered to have negative feelings toward Americans and/or their measures in Germany.

Classification of Respondents	1952 (413)*		1955 (470)*	
Pro-American:				
News is favorable and true	60%		71%	
News is unfavorable and untrue	2	62%	1	72%
Anti-American:				
News is favorable and untrue	29		25	
News is unfavorable and true	9	38	3	28
	100%		100%	

* Only those expressing an opinion to both basic questions.

II. A Brief Appraisal of Other Written Media

After a rather detailed analysis of the German newspapers, their audience, reading habits and attitudes, this chapter will be concerned with other written media such as periodicals, books and pamphlets. These media cannot be considered in competition with the newspapers, but should be looked at more as a supplementary source of information to the other news media.

Section 1: Readership and Evaluation of Periodicals

Readership of magazines and pictorials is more limited than that of newspapers, since about one-fourth fewer West Germans read periodicals than read the press. Frequency of reading figures are not comparable, of course, because of differences in publication frequency between newspapers and periodicals.

SIX OUT OF TEN GERMANS READ PERIODICALS ...

Readership of periodicals seems to be stable since 1952. The ratio of non-readers to readers is two to three. The respondents who say "Yes, they read periodicals" are almost entirely people reading magazines and/or pictorials at least once a month.

"Do you read magazines or pictorials?"

	West Germany	
	Nov 1952 (1193)	May 1955 (1251)
Yes	62%	60%
No	38	40
	100%	100%

MOST PERIODICAL READERS READ REGULARLY ...

Forty-one per cent of the German total population (68% of all readers) read magazines and/or pictorials rather regularly, i.e. at least once a week.

"Do you read the (magazines) (and) (pictorials) often or only occasionally?" (Asked of readers only.)

	All Respondents (1251)		Periodical Readers (752)
At least once a week	41%		68%
2 - 3 times a month	10		16
Approximately once a month	6		10
Only occasionally	3		6
	60%	=	100%

LACK OF TIME OUTWEIGHS LACK OF MONEY AMONG REASONS FOR NOT READING PERIODICALS ...

"Do you read the (magazines) (and) (pictorials) often or only occasionally?"

IF "No":
"For what reasons don't you read magazines and pictorials?"

	Periodical readers
I cannot spare the time to read them:	17%
"Because I'm all alone in my shop and don't have time to busy myself with reading."	
"That's all a question of whether you can spare the time."	
"We don't have time for reading any more because we are just rebuilding our business and have to work hard in order to make progress."	
"Because I've too much work to do, there's just sufficient time for reading the sports page."	
"Being a physician I don't have the time."	
"I've got too much work to do, in the factory, and I'm also engaged in homework."	
I cannot afford periodicals and pictorials for financial reasons:	15
"They cost too much."	
"We are pensioners and have to keep our money together."	
"Because I can't afford them, I haven't enough money."	
"Because the newspapers we read cost enough already."	
"That's too expensive, I couldn't afford it."	
I am not interested, I can do without them:	7
"Because I'm not interested in the contents of them."	
"Because I don't want to buy any. I'm not interested in that kind of stuff."	
"No interest in them at all. They're just keen on making profits."	
"I can get along without reading them."	
I don't like periodicals and pictorials, they don't contain anything valuable:	2
"I don't like them and I don't want my young daughter to read them either."	
"Most of them are bad."	
"They're only out for cheap sensations."	
Because my health prohibits reading:	2
"Because of my bad eyes, I used to read but that's more than a year ago."	
"Because of my age and failing eye-sight."	
"My nerves are so bad that I read as little as possible."	
Radio and daily newspapers suffice for me:	1
"I get enough information by listening to the radio."	
"The one newspaper I read is quite enough for me."	
Other answers:	1
"They're not proper for a farm."	
"We discontinued all subscription because of a death in the family."	
No opinion/No answer:	2
	47%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WHO READS PERIODICALS? ...

As one might expect, (similar to the frequent newspaper readers) regular periodical readers draw their largest share from the better educated and upper-class people. The age groups, however, indicate that the youngest people are the most regular magazine and pictorial readers, and the frequency of reading decreases with age.

"Do you also read periodicals or pictorials?"

IF "Yes":
"Do you read the (periodicals) (and) (pictorials) often or only occasionally?"

	Yes, at least once a week	Yes, 2 - 3 times a month	Once a month or less	No, don't read periodicals	No. of cases
West Germans Generally	41%	10%	9%	40%...100%	1251
Sex:					
Men	39	10	12	39	534
Women	42	10	8	40	717
Education:					
Elementary school	38	9	8	45	1035
Beyond elementary	54	14	14	18	216
Income:					
Up to 149 DM	29	7	8	56	149
150 to 299 DM	33	8	10	49	327
300 to 399 DM	41	10	8	41	260
400 to 499 DM	45	11	11	33	156
500 DM and more	58	11	11	20	247
No answer	34	16	11	39	112
Opinion Leadership Scale:@					
Very active	47	16	9	28	82
Somewhat active	43	11	10	36	321
Remainder	39	9	9	43	848
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	47	12	24	17	34
Middle classes	45	11	11	33	595
Lower classes	37	8	8	47	622
Age:					
18 to 24 years	50	11	13	26	118
25 to 34 years	44	13	10	33	257
35 to 44 years	44	9	11	36	266
45 to 54 years	36	10	8	46	273
55 years and over	36	8	8	48	337
Party Preference:					
SPD	46	9	10	35	227
CDU/CSU	45	12	8	35	314
FDP	42	8	12	38	50
Other parties	46	12	6	36	66
No party	38	12	10	40	295
No party preference stated	35	6	10	49	299

(Cont'd on next page)

@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Yes, at least once a week	Yes, 2 - 3 times a month	Once a month or less	No, don't read periodicals	No. of cases
Occupation:					
Professionals	31%	18%	21%	30%...100%	39
Businessmen	58	8	9	25	78
White-collar workers	52	15	9	24	137
Skilled laborers	45	12	13	30	132
Semi-skilled laborers	31	12	6	51	137
Domestic service	46	15	3	36	39
Farmers, farmhands	27	1	5	67	86
Housewives	44	8	8	40	423
Pensioners; retired	31	8	15	46	180
Religion:					
Catholics	38	11	9	42	580
Protestants	43	8	10	39	625
Others	33	13	27	27	15
No religion	62	13	9	16	31
Origin:					
Natives	39	10	10	41	986
Expellees; refugees	45	10	9	36	265
City Size:					
Up 1,999	31	4	9	56	394
2,000 to 24,999	42	10	8	40	380
25,000 to 99,999	46	11	12	31	114
100,000 and over	48	16	12	24	363
Land:					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	60	7	6	27	105
Lower Saxony	39	9	8	44	179
North Rhine/Westphalia	46	12	10	32	333
Hesse	36	12	7	45	109
Rhineland/Palatinate	36	7	13	44	82
Wuerttemberg/Baden	40	10	10	40	211
Bavaria	30	9	12	49	232

ABOUT FOUR IN TEN READERS READ MORE THAN ONE MAGAZINE OR PICTORIAL ...

The majority of the periodical readers (58%) read only one magazine or pictorial, a little more than a third (36%) read two to four and only 6% read five or more.

	Periodical Readers (752)
Read 5 or more periodicals	6%
Read 2 to 4 periodicals	36
Read one periodical only	58
	100%

ABOUT HALF OF THE MAGAZINE AUDIENCE READS THE GENERAL TYPE OF PICTORIAL ...

The various periodicals presently appearing on the West German publication market (several hundred) have been grouped according to their main content characteristics. A detailed listing of all periodicals named during this study and their classification illustrating each of the categories in the following table can be found in the appendix.

General pictorials, those without a major tendency as to content, such as Quick, Revue, Stern or Neue Illustrierte, etc., are read by 47% of the total readership. Another 26% make use of radio pictorials. Almost a third, however, read periodicals of a religious nature. This type of periodical, therefore, occupies second place in a ranking the various kinds of periodicals according to the frequency with which they are read.

"Do you also read periodicals or pictorials?"
IF "Yes": "Which?"

	All Respondents (1251)	Periodical Readers (752)
General pictorials	28%	47%
Periodicals of a religious nature	18	30
Radio pictorials	16	26
Periodicals of a generally entertaining nature	8	14
Women's magazines	4	7
Periodicals of a generally political nature	2	4
Periodicals of a technical nature	2	3
Don't read periodicals	40	-
	118%@ =	131%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ONLY ONE IN TWENTY GERMANS CONSIDERS A PARTICULAR MAGAZINE POLITICALLY HARMFUL ...

Only a negligible handful of the population (4%) can name a periodical which they consider politically harmful.

"Do you perhaps know any periodical or pictorial which is, in your opinion, politically harmful? (Which one is it?)"

	Periodical Readers (752)
Yes, know (Which one?)	4%
No, don't know	96
	100%

'DER SPIEGEL' RANKS HIGHEST IN ADVERSE POLITICAL AFFECT ...

Of those saying yes to the previous question, almost four in ten name the "Spiegel" as a politically harmful publication, followed by 22% giving the "Stern".

"Der Spiegel" originally styled after "Time Magazine" describes itself as "The German News Magazine" and, in consistency with this subtitle, puts great emphasis on merely reporting news of various kinds (international affairs, domestic politics, intellectual life, movies, etc.). Preferably "Der Spiegel" tries to put its finger on some sore spot which lends itself to a good, emotionally stirring story. Expression of opinion is restricted to a minimum. However, there can be no doubt that the editorial opinion is definitely anti-Adenauer and tends to coincide slightly with the SPD-viewpoint.

"Der Stern" is more of the"sensational" kind of pictorial. From time to time "Stern" carries a two page feature on some scandalous affair in domestic politics. This very fact and the way of presentation of those features, which is rather charged with emotions, may account for the high ranking of "Der Stern" in this category.

"Do you perhaps know any periodical or pictorial which is, in your opinion, politically harmful? (Which one is it?)"

	All those claiming to know a politically harmful magazine (45)
Spiegel	38%
Stern	22
Bild-Zeitung	9
Revue	4
Freies Volk	4
Simplicissimus	4
Neue Illustrierte	2
Volkszeitung (Hamburger Bogen)	2
KPD-Zeitung	2
Quick	2
Feuerreiter	2
Muenchner Illustrierte	2
Eulenspiegel	2
Neues Deutschland	2
Pelikan	2
Freie Presse	2
Constanze	2
	103%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

LOW INFORMATIVE VALUE ATTRIBUTED TO PERIODICALS GENERALLY ...

A clear majority of the West German population regards the German magazines and pictorials mainly as something to be read for entertainment rather than for news and information, like newspapers and radio. That squares well with the previous finding about what type of magazine is being read, i.e. the preponderance reads magazines of a generally entertaining nature (general pictorials 28% and periodicals with mainly entertainment content 8%).

Only about a third (33%) considers periodicals as a source of information.

"In general, how should one, in your opinion, regard periodicals and pictorials: mainly as something to be read for entertainment, or mainly as a source of information, like newspapers, radio, etc.?"

	Feb 1952 (1198)		May 1955 (1251)	
Mainly as something to be read for entertainment	63%		58%	
Mainly as a source of information	16)	30%	13)	34%
Both	14)		21)	
No opinion	7		8	
	100%		100%	

Section 2: Some Data on Readership and Evaluation of Pamphlets

The following very brief appraisal of pamphlets does not pretend to be a thorough analysis of their audience, their influence and impact as a medium here in Germany. The questions were merely designed within the overall frame of reference of a general study on written media, to provide some up-to-date trend figures on such basic factors as overall readership and general reception by the public. Further studies are planned to probe into audience composition, receptivity, and effectiveness of pamphlets as a medium of influence in Germany.

PUBLIC CONTACT WITH PAMPHLETS DISTINCTLY LIMITED ...

In order to test public contact with pamphlets, people were asked whether they had seen or read pamphlets within the past year. A brief introduction before the actual question was read in order to guide and assist the respondent's memory.

From the findings below, it is apparent that only 30% remember having encountered such material over the past year.

Since 1952, however, a slight but significant rise in pamphlet awareness and in readership can be noticed.

> "As you may know, leaflets, pamphlets or small booklets are sometimes issued and distributed free of charge by organizations, societies or other agencies.
>
> Have you perhaps during the past year seen or read any such booklets, pamphlets or leaflets?"

	West Germany	
	Nov 1952 (1193)	May 1955 (1251)
Yes, have seen them	17%	16%
Yes, have read them	8	14
	25	30
No, neither/nor	75	70
	100%	100%

ABOUT ONE QUARTER OF PAMPHLET AUDIENCE READS MATERIAL AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH ...

Most of the pamphlet readers (77%) claim to read them less than once a month.

> "Approximately how often do you read (leaflets) (pamphlets) (small booklets)?" (Asked of those having read pamphlets.)

	All Pamphlet Readers
At least once a week	2%
2 - 3 times a month	8
Once a month	13
	23
Less than once a month	77
	100%

OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS AGAIN HAVE MOST PAMPHLET CONTACTS ...

In line with expectations, group comparisons reveal that both contact with and readership of pamphlets are most widespread amongst the men, the better educated and better-off population elements which have the most access to such material, the most time, and most inclination for reading.

> "As you may know, leaflets, pamphlets or small booklets are sometimes issued and distributed free of charge by organizations, societies or other agencies.
>
> Have you perhaps during the past year seen or read any such booklets, pamphlets or leaflets?"

	Yes, have seen them	Yes, have read them	No, haven't seen them	No. of cases
West Germans Generally	16%	14%	70%...100%	1251
Sex:				
Men	20	21	59	534
Women	13	10	77	717
Education:				
Elementary school	14	13	73	1035
Beyond elementary	20	21	59	216
Income:				
Up to 149 DM	7	8	85	149
150 to 299 DM	11	13	76	327
300 to 399 DM	14	15	71	260
400 to 499 DM	20	18	62	156
500 DM and more	20	19	61	247
No answer	13	6	81	112
Opinion Leadership Scale:@				
Very active	17	33	50	82
Somewhat active	17	22	61	321
Remainder	13	10	77	848
Socio-Economic Status:				
Upper classes	18	26	56	34
Middle classes	15	16	69	595
Lower classes	14	12	74	622
Age:				
18 to 24 years	17	15	68	118
25 to 34 years	14	15	71	257
35 to 44 years	14	17	69	266
45 to 54 years	18	13	69	273
55 years and over	11	12	77	337
Party Preference:				
SPD	17	19	64	227
CDU/CSU	16	14	70	314
FDP	32	26	42	50
Other parties	10	22	68	66
No party	14	13	73	295
No party preference stated	9	9	82	299

@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Yes, have seen them	Yes, have read them	No, haven't seen them	No. of cases
Occupation:				
Professionals	15%	23%	62%...100%	39
Businessmen	17	17	66	78
White-collar workers	20	22	58	137
Skilled laborers	18	22	60	132
Semi-skilled laborers	18	14	68	137
Domestic service	10	5	85	39
Farmers, farmhands	17	9	74	86
Housewives	10	10	80	423
Pensioners; retired	12	14	74	180
Religion:				
Catholics	14	15	71	580
Protestants	15	12	73	625
Others	-	26	74	15
No religion	19	33	48	31
Origin:				
Natives	16	15	69	986
Expellees; refugees	17	11	72	265
City Size:				
Up to 1,999	10	8	82	394
2,000 to 24,999	14	15	71	380
25,000 to 99,999	16	13	71	114
100,000 and over	19	20	61	363
Land:				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	17	19	64	105
Lower Saxony	9	11	80	179
North Rhine/Westphalia	14	14	72	333
Hesse	9	15	76	109
Rhineland/Palatinate	16	11	73	82
Wuerttemberg/Baden	13	17	70	211
Bavaria	20	14	66	232

REMEMBERED PAMPHLETS WERE MOSTLY CONCERNED WITH POLITICS ...

"As you may know, leaflets, pamphlets or small booklets are sometimes issued and distributed free of charge by organizations, societies or other agencies.

Have you perhaps during the past year seen or read any such booklets, pamphlets or leaflets?"

IF "At least once a week" or "2 - 3 times a month":
"Do you remember what these ..... were about? (What did they contain?) Or their titles?"

	Pamphlet Readers
Leaflets, Pamphlets, Small Booklets of Political Character	(7%)
Campaign propaganda:	2%
"They were about the election, such leaflets where every party makes a lot of promises to be elected." "Campaign propaganda for the SPD and Mr. Kopf."	
Trade Union Publications:	2
"Trade union pamphlets on the 40-hour week and increased wages." "May-day proclamation of the trade union."	
Propaganda publications of the German Democratic Republic:	1
"Small booklets on free holidays, the unions, the Communist party as a travel agency. How helping with the propaganda campaign will pay for your vacations." "About the work of youth groups in the German Democratic Republic."	
Political publications for propaganda and information purposes:	1
"They were SPD leaflets against the armament program." "Information on political issues."	
Propaganda publications of the KPD:	1
"Communist leaflets."	
Leaflets, Pamphlets, Small Booklets on Economic Matters	(3%)
Advertisements for goods:	3
"Mostly advertisements for certain goods and services." "An appraising of hot air heaters."	
Leaflets, Pamphlets Small Booklets of a Religious Character	(2%)
"Small booklets by the Christian Scientists." "They were by Jehovah's Witnesses 'Jehovah is the only and the true God', that's what they said."	2
No opinion/No answer:	1
	13%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

PROPAGANDA CONSIDERED MAIN PURPOSE OF PAMPHLETS ...

When people were asked as to what they thought was the purpose of the pamphlets, their answers dealt mostly with propaganda, i.e. 37% thought of propaganda in general sense; 18% of political party propaganda; and 11% had other types of propaganda in mind - largely commercial advertising.

Only about a tenth (9%) of the population considered pamphlets a source of information and approximately one-third (34%) had no ideas concerning the purpose of pamphlets.

"In your opinion, what is the purpose of these leaflets, pamphlets or small booklets?"

	All West Germans (1251)	
PROPAGANDA	67%	
General propaganda (37%)		
Propaganda generally		18%
To influence public opinion		10
To stir up and confuse people		9
Politics (18%)		
Political party propaganda		12
Election campaign propaganda		6
Other types of propaganda (12%)		
Commercial advertising		11
Publicity for religious groups		1
INFORMATION SOURCE	9	
OTHER PURPOSES	2	
NO OPINION	34	
	112%@	

Comments in detail

	All West Germans
To make propaganda (in general):	18%

"They all want to make propaganda."
"Propaganda for the masses."
"They mostly serve propaganda purposes."
"To carry on propaganda."
"Propaganda - but an ad in the newspapers is better than this because the children usually tear up these leaflets."

To influence public opinion:	10

"They want to influence the opinions of people."
"To win disciples among the public."
"The other fellow wants to convince us of his opinion."
"To convince the reader of a certain opinion and win his support."
"To cheat people, to force an opinion upon them."

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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	All West Germans
To stir up and confuse people:	9%
"To throw dust in the eyes of people and to spread confusion."	
"To confuse people."	
"Much too much is printed to incite people."	
"They want to stir up people against somebody and profit by it."	
"To incite people still more."	
To make political party propaganda:	12
"They serve to inform the public on the views of the different parties."	
"To strengthen their own party."	
"They represent a party and want still more people to support their party."	
"Every party wants to win control."	
"Propaganda in favor of one party."	
To make election campaign propaganda:	6
"The parties circulate them during election campaigns."	
"To win people for certain aims, campaign propaganda, for example."	
"The purpose is campaign propaganda."	
"Influencing the course of the elections."	
To offer commercial advertising:	11
"Advertisements by different firms."	
"To attract favorable attention to a product, a new machine perhaps or radios."	
"Publicity for different articles."	
"Their purpose is to recommend something such as shoes or special brands, for instance."	
"In my opinion, they are unnecessary as their purpose only can be advertising."	
To give publicity to religious aims and groups:	1
"Publicity for religious groups or sects. I mean sects as Jehovah's Witnesses, and the like."	
"To change the world through Jehovah's Witnesses."	
To give information:	9
"To inform the public on certain issues which are raised by a certain group."	
"For the simple and good reason of informing the public."	
"They want to show our German youth that there is a wide difference between the East and the West."	
"To explain the school program offered over the radio."	
Other purposes:	2
"To attract attention."	
"That depends upon the sources they come from."	
"It varies, I guess; they want to invite you to some meeting."	
No opinion/No answer:	34
	112%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Section 3: Book Readership and Interest in U.S. Authors

As for pamphlets, a special, detailed study on book reading habits and preferences is planned to give guidance to USIS with respect to selection of titles and authors to support as well as efforts to persuade German publishers to bring out and support German editions of the books selected. The data in this section on books should be considered as raw information, which while useful within the framework of the present study, is not sufficient for a complete and thorough appraisal of book reading habits in Germany.

NEARLY HALF DO NOT READ BOOKS AT ALL ...

Only about a quarter (27%) of the adult population 18 years of age and over read books rather regularly, i.e. at least one book a month, another 28% do so more seldom, but the largest percentage (45%) claims they have not read a book at all during the past year.

"Did you, within the past year, have the opportunity to read any books? (Approximately how many books?)"

	West Germany
One or more books a week	5%
Two to three books a month	8
Approximately one book a month	14
Less than one book a month	28
None during the past year (or never)	45
	100%

WHAT POPULATION GROUPS READ BOOKS? ...

As one might have expected, distinct differences appear in the population group comparisons. Five times as many of the lower educated groups never read books as compared with the better educated. About nine times more lower-class than upper-class people never read books. The proportion of non-readers among the lowest income groups is again three times as big as among the highest income group, i.e. the frequency of book-reading increases with rising income.

The age group comparisons are interesting. The most frequent book readers can be found among the youngest people. The percentage reading frequently drops continuously from a high level to a low (for those 45-54 years), but then returns to about average for the age group of those 55 years and over.

In regard to city size, twice as many non-readers can be found in communities with less than 2,000 population than are represented in cities with a population of 100,000 and over.

"Did you, within the past year, have the opportunity to read any books? (Approximately how many books?)"

	Two books a month or more	Approximately one book a month	Less than one book a month	None during past year (or never)	No. of cases
West Germans Generally	13%	14%	28%	45%...100%	1251
Sex:					
Men	15	13	32	40	534
Women	11	14	26	49	717
Education:					
Elementary school	10	11	27	52	1035
Beyond elementary	30	25	35	10	216
Income:					
Up to 149 DM	9	12	12	67	149
150 to 299 DM	8	8	27	57	327
300 to 399 DM	11	16	30	43	260
400 to 499 DM	21	15	29	35	156
500 DM and more	21	20	37	22	247
No answer	8	10	28	54	112
Opinion Leadership Scale:©					
Very active	22	27	26	25	82
Somewhat active	17	12	33	38	321
Remainder	11	13	27	49	848
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	32	27	35	6	34
Middle classes	16	18	29	37	595
Lower classes	9	9	27	55	622
Age:					
18 to 24 years	20	13	31	36	118
25 to 34 years	18	14	32	36	257
35 to 44 years	11	17	28	44	266
45 to 54 years	9	11	28	52	273
55 years and over	12	13	24	51	337

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	Two books a month or more	Approximately one book a month	Less than one book a month	None during past year (or never)	No. of cases
Party Preference:					
SPD	13%	13%	31%	43%...100%	227
CDU/CSU	16	15	32	37	314
FDP	20	22	42	16	50
Other parties	20	12	30	38	66
No party	12	13	23	52	295
No party preference stated	8	12	26	54	299
Occupation:					
Professionals	33	23	41	3	39
Businessmen	13	10	33	44	78
White-collar workers	20	24	33	23	137
Skilled laborers	14	11	36	39	132
Semi-skilled laborers	11	9	30	50	137
Domestic service	21	21	25	33	39
Farmers, farmhands	1	5	23	71	86
Housewives	11	14	24	51	423
Pensioners; retired	13	12	25	50	180
Religion:					
Catholics	12	11	27	50	580
Protestants	14	15	30	41	625
Others	7	-	33	60	15
No religion	19	29	23	29	31
Origin:					
Natives	12	14	27	47	986
Expellees; refugees	17	12	32	39	265
City Size:					
Up 1,999	7	9	22	62	394
2,000 to 24,999	14	13	29	44	380
25,000 to 99,999	17	12	31	40	114
100,000 and over	17	20	33	30	363
Land:					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	15	28	22	35	105
Lower Saxony	10	8	30	52	179
North Rhine/Westphalia	16	17	31	36	333
Hesse	6	16	29	49	109
Rhineland/Palatinate	18	12	16	54	82
Wuerttemberg/Baden	12	12	29	47	211
Bavaria	12	8	32	48	232

ONE OUT OF FIVE FAMILIAR WITH AMERICAN AUTHORS ...

About a fifth (20%) of the population proves to be aware of books by American authors translated into German - that means more than a third (37%) of the total book audience in Germany.

"Do you happen to know the titles of any books by American authors which have been translated into German? (Which?)"

	West Germany	
	All respondents (1251)	Book readers (690)
Yes, which?	20%	37%
No	80	63
	100%	100%

MARGARET MITCHELL BEST KNOWN AMERICAN AUTHOR ...

Margaret Mitchell and Hemingway are the two best known American authors. Some distance behind are Pearl S. Buck, Louis Bromfield and James Jones.

"Do you happen to know the titles of any books by American authors which have been translated into German? (Which?)"

		West Germany	
	No. of actual cases	All respondents	Book readers
Margaret Mitchell	(107)	9%	16%
Ernest Hemingway	(87)	7	13
Pearl S. Buck	(15)	1	2
Louis Bromfield	(14)	1	2
James Jones	(16)	1	2
Henry Morton Robinson	(9)	1	1
Norman Mailer	(7)	1	1
Betty MacDonald	(6)	1	1
John Steinbeck	(5)	*	1
Mark Twain	(5)	*	1
Theodore Dreiser	(5)	*	1
Gwenn Bristow	(5)	*	1
Erskine Caldwell	(4)	*	1
Sinclair Lewis	(4)	*	1
Herman Wouk	(3)	*	*
Thomas Wolfe	(3)	*	*
Thornton Wilder	(3)	*	*
Other authors	(40)	3	6
Cannot name American author translated into German		80	64
		105%@	114%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

AMERICAN BOOKS RECEIVE VERY FAVORABLE RATING ...

The overwhelming majority of those having contact with American books and authors rate them "very good" (50%) or "good" (30%). Almost nobody (less than one half of one per cent) rates them as "bad."

"Do you happen to know the titles of any books by American authors which have been translated into German? (Which?)"

IF "Yes":
"Did you read one of them? (Which?) How do you rate this book (these books)?"

	West Germany	
	All respondents	All aware of books and authors
Overall Evaluation:		
Very good	10%	50%
Good	6	30
Fair	2	10
Bad	*	*
No opinion	2	10
	20% =	100%

MITCHELL'S "GONE WITH THE WIND" STILL REMAINS MOST READ AMERICAN BOOK IN GERMANY ...

Eight per cent of the West German adult population report having read Mitchell's "Gone with the Wind," that means roughly 3 Million people in Germany. Two books by Hemingway take second and third place in being most read.

"Do you happen to know the titles of any books by American authors which have been translated into German?"

IF "Yes":
"Did you read one of them? (Which?) How do you rate this book (these books)?"

	All Respondents					Book Readers				
	Very good	Good	Fair	Bad		Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	
Mitchell's - "Gone with the Wind"	5%	2%	1%	*%...8%		9%	4%	1%	*%...	14%
Hemingway - "For Whom the Bell Tolls"	1	1	1	* ...3		2	2	1	* ...	5
Hemingway - "The Old Man and the Sea"	1	1	*	* ...2		1	1	*	* ...	2
Other authors	5	4	1	* ...10		9	7	2	1 ...	19
	12%	8%	3%	*%	23%@	21%	14%	4%	1%	40%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

III. A Brief Comparative Evaluation of Different Media

It is realized that in some respects these media are not entirely comparable as to means, frequency of usage and type of content, because of different publication intervals and different targets. However, they do supply the West German public with news and/or information either as a direct news source or as a supplementary source of information. From that point of view these media serve the same purpose and may be compared.

Section 1: Media Activity and Audience Overlap

The media activity in West Germany have been examined in regard to five possibilities - readership of newspapers, listening to radio, reading periodicals, pamphlets and books. This covers all the written media in Germany and has only left out movie attendance and televiewing.

FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH MEDIA ...

As mentioned before, frequency of publication of these media differ, therefore frequency of contact with news media (radio and newspaper) and other written media (periodical and pamphlet) must be considered separately.

	News media		Other written media	
	Radio news listening (1251)	Newspaper reading (1251)	Periodical reading (1251)	Pamphlet reading (1251)
Frequency of media contact:				
Once a week or more often	84%	87%	41%	*%
Less than once a week	6	2	19	14
Don't read or listen to medium	10	11	40	86
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Contact with actual news media (press and radio) occur about the same in West Germany. The other written media differ distinctly in various ways.

LARGE AUDIENCE OVERLAP BETWEEN MEDIA INCLUDES ALMOST ENTIRE ADULT POPULATION ...

Only two in a hundred people (2%) were found who have no contact at all with actual news media, such as radio and press, or with other written media, such as periodicals and pamphlets which mainly function as supplementary sources of information. That means that through the combined impact of all four media practically the entire adult population is eventually reached.

The most popular single activity is reading the newspaper; 5% report doing this, but nothing else. Very few people simply listen to the radio (4%) or read periodicals only (less than one half of a per cent.)

When two activities are indulged in, these prove in most instances to be radio listening and newspaper reading (25%). A tiny minority (4%) listens to radio and reads periodicals only while still fewer (about 3%) combine two other media activities.

The most popular combination of three media is radio - newspaper - periodicals with 44%. A few (3%) listen to the radio, read the newspaper and also have contact with pamphlets, while only a negligible proportion (less than one half of a per cent) combine three of the four possibilities differently.

One in ten Germans, however, participates in all four activities.

Combination of Media Activity

Use of:	All West Germans (1251)
Radio, newspapers, and periodicals but not pamphlets	44%
Radio and newspapers, but not periodicals or pamphlets	25
Radio, newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets	10
Newspapers only	5
Radio only	4
Radio and periodicals, but not newspapers or pamphlets	4
Radio, newspapers, and pamphlets, but not periodicals	3
Newspapers and periodicals, but not radio or pamphlets	2
Newspapers and pamphlets, but not radio or periodicals	1
Newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets, but not radio	*
Radio, periodicals, and pamphlets, but not newspapers	*
Radio and pamphlets, but not newspapers or periodicals	*
Periodicals only	*
Periodicals and pamphlets, but not radio or newspapers	-
Pamphlets only	-
No media at all	2
	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Section 2: Comparative Judgments on Particular Criteria

The following six questions discussed in this section were designed to have the respondents evaluate in a comparative way the five media this study is concerned with. The test was directed toward some of the major criteria of media: 1) General appeal and popularity; 2) freedom in general publication; 3) freedom to criticize the government; 4) general reliability; 5) comprehensibility, and 6) propaganda.

As the analysis below shows, press and radio far outstrip the others in all respects.

RADIO APPEAL TOPS PRESS - TWO TO ONE ...

A clear majority (56%) choose radio as presenting its information in the most appealing form. Only a quarter (26%) say that about the press while periodicals take third place with 7%. In other words, radio beats press in general appeal by a ratio of 2 to 1.

"Which source of information presents its offerings in the most appealing form?" (CARD)

	West Germany
Radio	56%
Press	26
Periodicals	7
Books	1
Pamphlets, leaflets	*
No opinion	10
	100%

GREAT MAJORITY CONSIDERS RADIO AS MOST RELIABLE INFORMATION SOURCE ...

Only about two in ten register the opinion that press is the most reliable source of information, but 62% say so about radio. Books, periodicals and pamphlets together do not get as much as 3%.

"And which source of information is, in your opinion, most reliable?" (CARD)

Radio	62%
Press	19
Periodicals	1
Books	1
Pamphlets, leaflets	*
No opinion	17
	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

BUT PRESS BEATS RADIO IN GENERAL FREEDOM TO PUBLISH ...

A preponderant group of 35% say that the press can best afford to publish what it pleases. Radio follows with 29%

"In your opinion, which of these sources of information can best afford to publish what it pleases?" (CARD)

	West Germany
Radio	29%
Press	35
Periodicals	8
Books	2
Pamphlets, leaflets	7
No opinion	19
	100%

AND PRESS ALSO TOPS RADIO IN FREEDOM TO CRITICIZE GOVERNMENT BY THREE TO ONE ...

Nearly half (46%) of the Germans feel that of all sources of information the newspapers can best afford to criticize the government. Only 16% think the same about radio, closely followed by those who say pamphlets can do this best.

"In your opinion, which of these sources of information can best afford to criticize the government?" (CARD)

Radio	16%
Press	46
Periodicals	5
Books	1
Pamphlets, leaflets	10
No opinion	22
	100%

PRESS AND RADIO RATED EQUALLY HIGH IN REGARD TO COMPREHENSIBILITY ...

Most opinions divide equally between press (40%) and radio (41%) in respect to the source conveying the most comprehensible picture of the developments in the world.

"And, in your opinion, which source of information conveys the most comprehensive picture of the developments in the world?" (CARD)

Radio	41%
Press	40
Periodicals	6
Books	2
Pamphlets, leaflets	*
No opinion	11
	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

ON THE AVERAGE RADIO IS RATED HIGHER THAN PRESS ...

Five of the six criteria have a positive connotation. Taking these five together an average can be reached for each medium. The results found in the following table make it clear that radio received the highest rating (41%) while press came out with 33%.

	Radio	Press	Periodicals	Pamphlets	Books	No opinion
AVERAGE	41%	33%	6%	1%	3%	16%...100%
Based on:						
General appeal and popularity	56	26	7	1	*	10
Freedom on general publication	29	35	8	2	7	19
Free to criticize government	16	46	5	1	10	22
General reliability	62	19	1	1	*	17
Comprehensibility of supplied information	41	40	6	2	*	11

PRESS BELIEVED TO CARRY THE MOST PROPAGANDA ...

A partial explanation as to why press is rated lower than radio might be the finding that a large group (about 4 out of 10 Germans) thinks the press disseminates the most propaganda, while only a small minority (15%) say so about radio.

"And which of them disseminates the most propaganda?"

	West Germany
Radio	15%
Press	39
Periodicals	11
Books	*
Pamphlets, leaflets	17
No opinion	18
	100%

I. General Appraisal of Present-Day Press

A. NEWPAPER READERSHIP AND PREFERENCES

Section 1: The German Newspaper Audience

"Which newspaper(s) do you read?"

IF ONLY ONE NAMED:
"Would you like to read more than one newspaper, or is one enough for you?"

	Read more than one newspaper	Read one but would like to read more	Read one, and one is enough	No opinion	No. of cases
All Newspaper Readers	21%	14%	63%	2%..100	1116
Sex:					
Men	26	17	55	2	494
Women	17	12	68	3	622
Education:					
Elementary school	17	14	66	3	906
Beyond elementary	40	17	42	1	210
Income:					
Up to 149 DM	16	12	67	5	113
150 to 299 DM	16	11	69	4	285
300 to 399 DM	13	17	69	1	234
400 to 499 DM	24	14	61	1	146
500 DM and more	37	17	45	1	236
No answer	20	14	62	4	102
Opinion Leadership Scale@:					
Very active	32	16	51	1	77
Somewhat active	26	15	57	2	299
Remainder	17	14	66	3	740
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	71	6	23	-	34
Middle classes	25	15	58	2	549
Lower classes	15	14	68	3	533
Age:					
18 to 24 years	19	11	70	-	109
25 to 34 years	24	15	58	3	235
35 to 44 years	20	19	60	1	232
45 to 54 years	21	14	61	4	237
55 years and over	21	13	64	2	303
Party Preference:					
SPD	18	12	68	2	212
CDU/CSU	21	17	61	1	286
FDP	33	16	51	-	49
Other parties	29	18	53	-	55
No party	21	15	60	4	264
No party preference stated	20	11	66	3	250

@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

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	Read more than one newspaper	Read one but would like to read more	Read one, and one is enough	No opinion	No. of cases
Occupation:					
Professionals	51%	26%	23%	....100%	39
Businessmen	33	16	46	5	75
White-Collar workers	34	16	49	1	132
Skilled laborers	18	21	59	2	120
Semi-skilled laborers	14	14	70	2	117
Domestic service	12	15	67	6	34
Farmers, farmhands	17	5	77	1	79
Housewives	16	13	70	1	369
Pensioners; retired	18	15	61	6	151
Religion:					
Catholics	18	15	65	2	512
Protestants	23	15	60	2	562
Others	20	7	66	7	15
No religion	37	11	52	-	27
Origin:					
Natives	19	13	66	2	890
Expellees, refugees	27	20	50	3	226
City Size:					
Up to 1,999	16	9	72	3	335
2,000 to 24,999	20	16	63	1	343
25,000 to 99,999	30	13	54	3	94
100,000 and over	24	18	55	3	344
Land:					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	31	13	51	5	102
Lower Saxony	17	9	70	4	164
North Rhine/Westphalia	14	24	60	2	296
Hesse	20	12	68	-	85
Wuerttemberg/Baden	28	7	62	3	68
Rhineland/Palatinate	24	9	65	2	185
Bavaria	24	14	60	2	216

B. EVALUATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Section 1: What Does the German Newspaper Consumer Think of Today's Press?

"As far as you know - is what the newspapers of today report on important questions of the day true to the facts or is it not always true to the facts?"

IF "Not always true to the fact":
"Does it happen often, not so often, or only seldom, that what the newspapers report is not true to the facts?"

	True to the facts	Not always true to the facts				
		Happens seldom	Happens not so often	Happens often	No opinion	No. of cases
West Germans Generally	28%	16%	23%	14%	19%..100%	1251
Sex:						
Men	29	18	23	18	12	534
Women	27	14	23	11	25	717
Education:						
Elementary school	28	16	22	14	20	1035
Beyond elementary	31	16	27	15	11	216
Income:						
Up to 149 DM	29	9	21	9	32	149
150 to 299 DM	25	16	23	14	22	327
300 to 399 DM	30	15	22	16	17	260
400 to 499 DM	33	20	25	11	11	156
500 DM and more	29	19	26	16	10	247
No answer	25	9	18	19	29	112
Opinion Leadership Scale@:						
Very active	26	22	28	17	7	82
Somewhat active	23	19	27	18	13	321
Remainder	30	14	21	13	22	848
Socio-Economic Status:						
Upper classes	21	12	32	23	12	34
Middle classes	29	18	24	13	16	595
Lower classes	27	13	22	15	23	622
Age:						
18 to 24 years	26	22	23	15	14	118
25 to 34 years	26	17	24	14	19	257
35 to 44 years	31	18	23	11	17	266
45 to 54 years	27	15	24	15	19	273
55 years and over	28	10	22	17	23	337
Party Preference:						
SPD	29	19	26	15	11	227
CDU/CSU	36	16	26	9	13	314
FDP	36	10	24	18	12	50
Other parties	29	22	14	18	17	66
No party	23	16	23	18	20	295
No party preference stated	22	12	19	14	33	299

@ Determined by political and organizational participation

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	True to the facts	Not always true to the facts				
		Happens seldom	Happens not so often	Happens often	No opinion	No. of cases
Occupation:						
Professionals	36%	10%	23%	18%	13%..100%	39
Businessmen	34	14	23	15	14	78
White-collar workers	30	20	26	13	11	137
Skilled laborers	27	21	24	16	12	132
Semi-skilled laborers	27	19	26	14	14	137
Domestic Service	26	15	33	8	18	39
Farmers, farmhands	27	21	19	15	18	86
Housewives	28	13	20	14	25	423
Pensioners; retired	25	12	24	14	25	180
Religion:						
Catholics	27	17	22	13	21	580
Protestants	28	15	24	16	17	625
Others	53	7	7	26	7	15
No religion	16	26	33	6	19	31
Origin:						
Natives	28	16	23	14	19	986
Expellees; refugees	26	13	26	15	20	265
City Size:						
Up to 1,999	25	15	20	14	26	394
2,000 to 24,999	27	20	24	13	16	380
25,000 to 99,999	27	11	24	17	21	114
100,000 and over	31	13	26	15	15	363
Land:						
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,Bremen	20	11	33	19	17	105
Lower Saxony	27	14	19	16	24	179
North Rhine/Westphalia	33	20	20	12	15	333
Hesse	27	20	26	9	18	109
Rhineland/Palatinate	23	10	21	24	22	82
Wuerttemberg/Baden	27	13	22	14	24	211
Bavaria	28	16	26	13	17	232

"If the radio news differs from what your newspaper reports, which would you be more apt to believe - the radio or the newspaper?"

	Radio	News-paper	No opinion	No. of cases
Radio Listeners who read the Newspapers as well:	57%	10%	33%...100%	1016
Sex:				
Men	58	11	31	449
Women	56	8	36	567
Education:				
Elementary school	55	9	36	814
Beyond elementary	62	13	25	202
Income:				
Up to 149 DM	46	10	44	89
150 to 299 DM	50	7	43	239
300 to 399 DM	62	9	29	226
400 to 499 DM	67	7	26	136
500 DM and more	62	13	25	231
No answer	44	14	42	95
Opinion Leadership Scale:@				
Very active	54	16	30	73
Somewhat active	62	11	27	280
Remainder	55	8	37	663
Socio-Economic Status:				
Upper classes	53	18	29	34
Middle classes	59	10	31	504
Lower classes	55	9	36	478
Age:				
18 to 24 years	58	8	34	107
25 to 34 years	64	10	26	221
35 to 44 years	58	8	34	219
45 to 54 years	54	9	37	215
55 years and over	52	11	37	254
Party Preference:				
SPD	62	13	25	197
CDU/CSU	61	11	28	265
FDP	66	17	17	48
Other Parties	53	12	35	51
No party	49	7	44	231
No party preference stated	54	7	39	224
Occupation:				
Professionals	58	14	28	36
Businessmen	56	7	37	70
White-collar workers	63	13	24	127
Skilled laborers	61	10	29	115
Semi-skilled laborers	61	6	33	110
Domestic service	59	6	35	34
Farmers, farmhands	52	11	37	65
Housewives	55	8	37	335
Pensioners; retired	49	13	38	124
Religion:				
Catholics	57	9	34	460
Protestants	58	9	33	518
Others	54	8	38	13
No religion	40	20	40	25

@ Determined by political and organizational participation

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	Radio	News paper	No opinion	No. of cases
Origin:				
Natives	57%	10%	33%...100%	806
Expellees, refugees	55	10	35	210
City Size:				
Up to 1,999	50	7	43	290
2,000 to 24,999	58	10	32	316
25,000 to 99,999	64	8	28	88
100,000 and over	60	12	28	322
Land:				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg				
Bremen	58	11	31	92
Lower Saxony	61	7	32	147
North Rhine/Westphalia	60	11	29	275
Hesse	54	15	31	80
Rhineland/Palatinate	55	5	40	58
Wuerttemberg/Baden	50	8	42	166
Bavaria	56	10	34	198

"Do you personally consider it good or bad if newspapers (would) represent the viewpoint of certain groups or parties?"

	Good	Bad	Neither/ nor	No opinion	No. of cases
All Newspaper Readers	12%	33%	37%	18%..100%	1116
Sex:					
Men	14	37	38	11	494
Women	11	29	36	24	622
Education:					
Elementary school	12	30	37	21	906
Beyond elementary	14	43	35	8	210
Income:					
Up to 149 DM	20	16	28	36	113
150 to 299 DM	10	33	34	23	285
300 to 399 DM	12	30	43	15	234
400 to 499 DM	10	39	37	14	146
500 DM and more	14	40	39	7	236
No answer	9	26	39	26	102
Opinion Leadership Scale@:					
Very active	27	43	25	5	77
Somewhat active	15	39	34	12	299
Remainder	9	29	40	22	740
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	23	32	27	18	34
Middle classes	12	39	36	13	549
Lower classes	12	26	38	24	533
Age:					
18 to 24 years	11	39	35	15	109
25 to 34 years	10	37	41	12	235
35 to 44 years	8	38	39	15	232
45 to 54 years	11	31	39	19	237
55 years and over	19	23	32	26	303
Party Preference:					
SPD	15	35	37	13	212
CDU/CSU	19	36	29	16	286
FDP	10	41	47	2	49
Other parties	16	29	44	11	55
No party	10	32	37	21	264
No party preference stated	5	26	42	27	250
Occupation:					
Professionals	20	44	26	10	39
Businessmen	11	42	40	7	75
White-collar workers	17	42	36	5	132
Skilled laborers	11	38	43	8	120
Semi-skilled laborers	9	34	38	19	117
Domestic service	9	24	44	23	34
Farmers, farmhands	10	28	39	23	79
Housewives	9	28	40	23	369
Pensioners, retired	20	26	23	31	151
Religion:					
Catholics	14	31	36	19	512
Protestants	10	33	39	18	562
Others	27	27	26	20	15
No religion	22	52	19	7	27

@ Determined by political and organizational participation

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Good	Bad	Neither/ nor	No opinion	No. of cases
Origin:					
Natives	12%	33%	37%	18%..100%	890
Expellees, refugees	12	32	39	17	226
City Size:					
Up to 1,999	11	30	38	21	335
2,000 to 24,999	10	34	39	17	343
25,000 to 99,999	16	40	31	13	94
100,000 and over	15	31	35	19	344
Land:					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	16	23	41	20	102
Lower Saxony	9	30	31	30	164
North Rhine/Westphalia	16	23	44	17	296
Hesse	13	34	41	12	85
Rhineland/Palatinate	12	37	42	9	68
Wuerttemberg/Baden	11	44	34	11	185
Bavaria	9	40	29	22	216

Section 2: Some German Views on What Newspapers Should and Do Print.

"During the Bundestag debates on the Paris Accords also some remarks were made which represented reproaches against Chancellor Adenauer. In your opinion, should the newspaper report this, or not? And should, in your opinion, the radio report it, or not?"

	Yes, report it		No, not report		I don't care		No opinion			No. of cases
	Press	Radio	Press	Radio	Press	Radio	Press	Radio		
West Germans Generally	51%	48%	13%	13%	21%	22%	15%	17%	...100%	1251
Sex:										
Men	59	57	15	15	17	18	9	10		534
Women	45	41	11	12	24	25	20	22		717
Education:										
Elementary school	48	46	12	13	23	24	17	17		1035
Beyond elementary	66	60	13	15	10	12	11	13		216
Income:										
Up to 149DM	39	33	9	10	27	30	25	27		149
150 to 299 DM	42	41	14	14	26	26	18	19		327
300 to 399 DM	54	52	13	15	18	19	15	14		260
400 to 499 DM	59	58	15	15	17	17	9	10		156
500 DM and more	65	60	13	14	14	16	8	10		247
No answer	43	42	10	9	26	26	21	23		112
Opinion Leadership Scale©:										
Very active	76	73	16	15	7	10	1	2		82
Somewhat active	55	53	16	17	20	20	9	10		321
Remainder	47	44	11	12	23	24	19	20		848
Socio-Economic Status:										
Upper classes	67	56	15	23	15	18	3	3		34
Middle classes	57	53	14	15	18	19	11	13		595
Lower Classes	45	43	11	11	24	25	20	21		622
Age:										
18 to 24 years	56	49	5	9	24	25	15	17		118
25 to 34 years	57	55	11	12	20	20	12	13		257
35 to 44 years	56	53	12	14	20	22	12	11		266
45 to 54 years	47	45	11	11	23	23	19	21		273
55 years and over	43	40	19	18	20	22	18	20		337
Party Preference:										
SPD	67	65	8	9	15	16	10	10		227
CDU/CSU	53	51	22	22	15	16	10	11		314
FDP	68	58	22	22	8	12	2	8		50
Other parties	59	57	14	15	14	14	13	14		66
No party	45	42	9	9	33	33	13	16		295
No party preferenoe stated	38	36	9	10	23	24	30	30		299
Occupation:										
Professionals	67	49	10	21	18	20	5	10		39
Businessmen	56	53	14	14	17	19	13	14		78
White-collar workers	61	58	15	15	12	14	12	13		137
Skilled laborers	62	64	14	14	14	14	10	8		132
Semi-skilled laborers	50	48	10	11	30	29	10	12		137
Domestic service	41	38	21	23	18	18	20	21		39
Farmers, farmhands	49	47	7	6	29	31	15	16		86
Housewives	46	44	12	13	22	22	20	21		423
Pensioners;retired	45	41	14	13	23	25	18	21		180

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Yes, report it		No, not report		I don't care		No opinion			No. of cases
	Press	Radio	Press	Radio	Press	Radio	Press	Radio		
Religion:										
Catholics	49%	46%	12%	13%	23%	24%	16%	17%	...100%	580
Protestants	52	48	14	15	19	21	15	16		625
Others	60	60	-	-	27	27	13	13		15
No religion	78	78	3	-	3	3	16	19		31
Origin:										
Natives	52	49	12	13	21	22	15	16		986
Expellees, refugees	48	45	15	16	21	23	16	16		265
City Size:										
Up to 1,999	44%	42	9	9	28	29	19	20		394
2,000 to 24,999	50	47	15	16	18	19	17	18		380
25,000 to 99,999	56	56	15	15	11	14	18	15		114
100,000 and over	58	53	13	15	19	20	10	12		363
Land:										
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	54	52	15	15	23	22	8	11		105
Lower Saxony	56	54	11	11	12	12	21	23		179
North Rhine/Westphalia	51	48	16	17	21	22	12	13		333
Hesse	52	45	13	14	24	30	11	11		109
Rhineland/Palatinate	44	42	12	13	28	28	16	17		82
Wuerttemberg/Baden	54	52	8	10	16	16	22	22		211
Bavaria	45	43	12	11	27	29	16	17		232

"During the Bundestag debates on the Paris Accords some remarks were made which represented reproaches against the Western Powers. In your opinion, should the newspapers report this, or not?
And should, in your opinion, the radio report it, or not?"

	Yes, report it		No, not report		I don't care		No opinion		No. of cases
	Press	Radio	Press	Radio	Press	Radio	Press	Radio	
West Germans Generally	56%	55%	10%	10%	20%	21%	14%	14%...100%	1251
Sex:									
Men	63	62	11	12	17	17	9	9	534
Women	48	46	8	8	24	25	20	21	717
Education:									
Elementary school	51	49	9	9	23	24	17	18	1035
Beyond elementary	70	69	11	11	11	12	8	8	216
Income:									
Up to 149 DM	40	35	7	9	27	29	26	27	149
150 to 299 DM	47	47	10	9	25	26	18	18	327
300 to 399 DM	55	57	9	9	20	19	16	15	260
400 to 499 DM	61	57	11	14	19	19	9	10	156
500 DM and more	72	69	10	9	13	15	5	7	247
No answer	45	43	10	10	19	21	26	26	112
Opinion Leadership Scale:[1]									
Very active	74	76	15	12	10	10	1	2	82
Somewhat active	62	61	11	11	18	18	9	10	321
Remainder	50	47	8	9	23	25	19	19	848
Socio-Economic Status:									
Upper classes	64	62	12	12	18	20	6	6	34
Middle classes	61	59	12	12	16	17	11	12	595
Lower classes	48	46	7	8	25	26	20	20	622
Age:									
18 to 24 years	60	59	4	4	21	22	15	15	118
25 to 34 years	62	63	8	7	16	16	14	14	257
35 to 44 years	61	58	9	9	20	22	10	11	266
45 to 54 years	49	49	9	9	24	24	18	18	273
55 years and over	45	41	14	14	23	24	18	21	330
Party Preference:									
SPD	68	67	17	7	10	15	5	11	227
CDU/CSU	61	58	13	14	16	17	10	11	314
FDP	68	70	18	12	10	14	4	4	50
Other parties	63	63	11	11	12	11	14	15	66
No party	46	44	9	9	29	30	16	17	295
No party preference stated	42	40	7	7	24	25	27	28	299
Occupation:									
Professionals	54	56	18	13	23	23	5	8	39
Businessmen	63	57	16	15	15	19	6	9	78
White-collar workers	68	66	8	9	13	14	11	11	137
Skilled laborers	67	67	11	13	10	9	12	11	132
Semi-skilled laborers	52	53	6	5	30	29	12	13	137
Domestic service	51	49	10	15	13	10	26	26	39
Farmers, farmhands	50	47	9	8	25	28	16	17	86
Housewives	50	49	9	8	21	22	20	21	423
Pensioners; retired	46	42	11	12	26	28	17	18	180

[1] Determined by political and organizational participation.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Yes, report it		No, not report		I don't care		No opinion			No. of cases
	Press	Radio	Press	Radio	Press	Radio	Press	Radio		
Religion:										
Catholics	51%	49%	10%	10%	23%	24%	16%	17%	...100%	580
Protestants	57	55	9	10	19	20	15	15		625
Others	60	60	7	7	13	13	20	20		15
No religion	71	71	3	3	3	6	23	20		31
Origin:										
Natives	54	52	10	10	21	22	15	16		986
Expellees; refugees	57	54	6	8	20	21	17	17		265
City Size:										
Up to 1,999	47	45	6	6	27	29	20	20		394
2,000 to 24,999	52	51	13	12	19	19	16	18		380
25,000 to 99,999	64	67	11	10	11	12	14	11		114
100,000 and over	63	58	9	11	18	19	10	12		363
Land:										
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	58	56	7	8	25	25	10	11		105
Lower Saxony	58	57	7	6	13	14	22	23		179
North Rhine/Westphalia	56	53	13	15	20	21	11	11		333
Hesse	50	48	12	12	24	27	14	13		109
Rhineland/Palatinate	49	44	6	9	27	28	18	19		82
Wuerttemberg/Baden	58	57	9	8	14	15	19	20		211
Bavaria	49	48	9	8	27	27	15	17		232

II. A Brief Appraisal of Other Written Media

Section 1 : Readership and Evaluation of Periodicals

LIST OF VARIOUS PERIODICALS GROUPED
ACCORDING TO MAIN CONTENT CHARACTERISTICS

General pictorials

A B C
abz Illustrierte
Bunte Illustrierte
Illustrierte Berliner Zeitung (IBZ)
Badische Illustrierte
Constanze
Deutsche Illustrierte
Filmillustrierte
Frankfurter Illustrierte
Lies mit
Kristall
Neue Illustrierte
Quick
Revue
Stern
Sie und Er
Ufer
Weltbild
Woche im Bild
Illustrierte Woche
Muenchner Illustrierte

Radio pictorials

Bild und Funk
Funk und die Familie
Funkillustrierte
Funkzeitung
Film und Funk
Funk-Uhr
Funk und Bild
Gong
Hoer Zu
Hoeren und Sehen
Radio Revue
Rundfunkillustrierte

Periodicals of a generally entertaining nature

Dir und mir
Das Gruene Blatt
Heim und Welt
Hausfreund
Hausschatz
Neue Post
Neues Blatt
Rheinischer Hausfreund
Romanzeitschrift
Sonne im Heim
Sieben Tage
Welt am Sonnabend - Diese Woche
Welt am Sonntag
Wochenend
Das neue Blatt

Periodicals of a general political nature

Englische Rundschau
Der Spiegel
Simplizissimus
Die Zeit
Fortschritt
Die Glocke

Periodicals of a technical nature

Feld und Wald
Fackel
Landwirtschaftliches Wochenblatt
Malerzeitung

Women's magazines

Burda - Moden
Brigitte
Frau im Spiegel
Film und Frau
Ihre Freundin
Ullstein - Modenzeitung

Periodicals of a religious nature

Bistumsblatt
Christ und Welt
Evangelisches Kirchenblatt
Kasseler Sonntagsblatt
Regensburger Bistumsblatt
Stadt Gottes
Feuerreiter
Liborius
Katholisches Sonntagsblatt

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